DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 413 399 UD 031 993

TITLE	A Black Community Crusade and Covenant for Protecting Children.
INSTITUTION	Children's Defense Fund-Ohio, Columbus.
ISBN	ISBN-1-881985-09-1
PUB DATE	1995-00-00
NOTE	115p.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom (055)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Adults; Agenda Setting; *Blacks; Child Advocacy; *Child Welfare; Childhood Needs; Children; *Community Involvement; Disadvantaged Youth; Elementary Secondary Education; *Responsibility; Urban Schools

ABSTRACT

This guide urges all black adults and all caring Americans to join the crusade of the Children's Defense Fund to protect black children. Chapter 1, "Why Everyone in America Must Care about Black Children--and All Children," sets for key facts about the status of black children and suggests a personal audit each adult should perform to ensure that he or she is part of the solution rather than part of the problem children face. A community action agenda and a public policy agenda are suggested to help ensure fair opportunities for all children. Chapter 2, "An Unfair Contract with America's Children," examines some key unfair and antichild aspects of the "Contract with America" and their implications for black children. In chapter 3, "Myths that Cloak Injustice," myths now circulating that have been used to justify harmful budget cuts are explored. Chapter 4 presents five examples of promising programs for children. Chapter 5, "Data on the Status of Black Children," includes 50 state and big-city tables on the status of black children. An appendix includes a copy of the Black Community Crusade for Children manifesto drafted by John Hope Franklin. (Contains 1 figure and 38 tables.) (SLD)

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A Black Community Crusade and Covenant for Protecting Children

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The Black Community Crusade for Children
Children's Defense Fund

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The Mission of the BCCC

The mission of the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) is to ensure that no child is left behind and that every child has a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life with the support of caring parents and nurturing communities.

The BCCC seeks to weave and reweave the rich fabric of community that historically has been the cornerstone for the healthy development of Black children; to tap into and strengthen the strong Black community tradition of self-help; to rebuild the bridges between generations and between the Black middle class and poor; to assist and galvanize current Black leadership around specific goals for children; and to identify, train, nurture, link, mobilize, and empower a new generation of effective young, Black servant-leaders on behalf of children.

The BCCC is coordinated nationally by the Children's Defense Fund in partnership with well-established and effective regional child-serving organizations. Together, the Urban Strategies Council of Oakland and the Charles Drew Child Development Corporation in Los Angeles serve as the Western regional office. The Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families in New York City serves as the Eastern regional office. CDF's Ohio state office — including Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus projects — serves as the Midwestern regional office. The Southern regional office is in Jackson, Mississippi.

About CDF

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) exists to provide a strong and effective voice for all the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. We pay particular attention to the needs of poor and minority children. Our goal is to educate the nation about the needs of children and encourage preventive investment in children before they get sick, drop out of school, suffer family breakdown, or get into trouble.

Our staff includes specialists in health, education, child welfare, mental health, child development, adolescent pregnancy prevention, family income, and youth employment. CDF gathers, analyzes, and disseminates information on key issues affecting children. We monitor the development and implementation of federal and state policies, and we provide information, technical assistance, and support to a network of state and local child advocates, service providers, and public and private sector officials and leaders. We pursue an annual legislative agenda in the U.S. Congress and in states where we have offices. CDF educates hundreds of thousands of citizens annually about children's needs and responsible options for meeting those needs.

CDF is a private, nonprofit organization supported by foundations, corporate grants, and individual donations. We have never taken government funds.

A Black Community Crusade and Covenant for Protecting Children

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Cover photo by Gordon Parks

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Preface

The bird has a single body, but two necks, two heads and two separate consciousnesses. After an eternity, these two heads begin to hate each other and decide to do harm to each other. Both of them swallow pebbles and poison and the result is predictable: the whole Bherunda bird goes into spasms and dies with loud cries of pain. It is brought back to life by the infinite mercy of Krishna, to remind people that all hatred harms not only the object of that hatred, but at the same time, and perhaps chiefly, the one who hates.

Hindu legend about a mythical bird called Bherunda told by Vaclav Havel, Oslo Conference on Hate, August 1990

As the mother of a black son, I have raised my child with a trembling hand that clutches and leads. I am no slave mother, my sleep plundered by images of the auction block. I dream instead of my son slaying the statistics that threaten to ensnare and cripple him, statistics that I know are a commentary on the odds for my son, who isn't dead or in jail. And though I have paved a straight and narrow path for my son to tread, always there is the fear that he will make a fatal detour, be seduced, or be hijacked by a white or a black cop, or a young black predator, or a Nazi skinhead, or his own bad judgment, or a weakness that even I as his mother cannot love or punish or will out of him.

And so it is life that is the quest now. I want my son to grow up to be smart, productive, and content. But like every black mother I know, I want my son, mostly, to live. White mothers insist, "I worry about my son too." And well they should. For while I seek to protect my son's life, any progressive, concerned white mother must strive to raise her son to resist and reject the legacy of his father. White mothers must raise their sons to welcome the necessary sharing of power, resources, and the world. White boys have to be taught to care whether my son lives or dies.

Marita Golden
Saving Our Sons

Shoot me. I'm already dead.

T-shirt worn by young inner-city boy

The premise of this guide is that if the Black community and the nation cannot agree on anything else, we had better agree on saving our children — all of them.

This also is the premise of the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC), which began in 1990 when distinguished historian John Hope Franklin, National Council of Negro Women President Dorothy Height, and the Children's Defense Fund convened Black leaders to discuss the plight of Black children. We concluded that "the crisis of Black families and Black children requires all responsible civic, religious, professional, community, and national groups to join in a nationwide effort to save the

Black family, to save the Black child, and to save for our country a rich resource that has already done so much to make the country what it is today and that can do so much to serve it in the future."

A decision was made to launch a Crusade to Leave No Child Behind and to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life with the support of caring adults in nurturing communities. Toward this mission the BCCC has taken steps to:

- Communicate the crisis facing Black children and what can be done by whom.
- Weave and reweave the rich fabric of community that historically has been the cornerstone for the healthy development of Black children.
- Tap into and strengthen the strong Black community tradition of self-help.
- Rebuild the bridges between the generations and between the Black middle class and poor.
- Connect and galvanize current effective Black leadership around specific goals for children.
- Identify, train, nurture, link, empower, and mobilize a new generation of young Black servant–leaders on behalf of children.

Significant progress has been made in laying a solid foundation to achieve these goals. CDF, which coordinates the BCCC nationally, in collaboration with effective regional child advocacy organizations, remains committed to ensuring that no child — White, Brown, or Black, poor, middle class, or rich, physically, mentally, or emotionally challenged or gifted, English- or non-English-speaking — is left behind. The American Dream is not just for some children, but for all children. So the BCCC is a targeted crusade within a larger crusade. While we are a Black Community Crusade for all children, we are simultaneously working to mobilize African Americans on behalf of Black children who face disproportionate problems. The Black community alone is not responsible for and cannot solve all of the family, social, and economic problems confronting Black children and families and American society. But it is clear that Black adults must always be the frontline of love, protection, guidance, and advocacy for Black children.

What the BCCC Has Accomplished So Far

What the BCCC has been doing and is trying to do is very, very hard; involves many components and strategies that must be woven together nationally and locally into an inspiring whole; requires the collaboration of many disciplines, networks, and individuals; and will take a long time.

This is challenging in our quick-fix, silver bullet media and political culture. But we are determined not to let outside forces that have contributed so much to our child and family crises and to making violence ubiquitous in our culture, drive or shape our priorities and values for our children. The crises our children face cumulated over many decades and will not be solved overnight or by a single intervention or without a fundamental transformation of our personal, community, private sector, and public values and priorities. A massive movement must well up from every nook, cranny, and walk of American life involving millions of parents, religious, civic, educational, business, and political leaders, and youths themselves. We adults need to confess the mess we have helped create and empower our young to work with us in building a new spirit and sense of community in America.

To lay the groundwork for a crusade for children that can be sustained, to date the BCCC has:

- **Identified and forged an effective Black leadership family for children.** The 1990s require leaders who understand: 1) the relationship between policy, programs, community empowerment strategies, and politics; 2) the need for both service and advocacy; 3) the importance of coalition building and collaboration across disciplines, age, income, racial, and gender groups; 4) how to utilize new communications and computer technologies effectively; and 5) the necessity for grounding all we do in enduring spiritual and community values.

- **Made important strides in identifying and training a successor generation of Black servant–leaders for children through the Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN) and the Ella Baker Child Policy Training Institute.** More than 425 Black college students have attended a two-week intensive training program and served eight-week internship in summer Freedom Schools to provide disadvantaged children positive mentors and alternatives to the streets. Hundreds more have received shorter regional training and participated in BSLN house parties. A key BCCC goal is to train at least 1,000 young Black servant–leaders under 30 over the next five years for the children's cause.

- **Conducted a comprehensive poll of Black adults and children,** which confirmed the urgent need for a crusade and the BCCC's belief that Black children and families face one of the worse crises since slavery. Over 80 percent of Black adults feel Black children are worse off today than the adults were as children, and over 70 percent fear their children will be victims of violence before they reach adulthood.

- **Set up regular communications and outreach mechanisms,** including a quarterly newsletter, *Necessary,* for general Black audiences, and a quarterly Black college youth newsletter, *WeSpeak.*

- **Implemented a county-wide academic excellence demonstration project in rural Marlboro County, South Carolina,** whose goal is to mobilize an entire community to foster higher expectations for all its children (see Chapter 4, page 45). Too often overlooked, rural children are as bad off on some key child indicators as inner-city children. A South Carolina Education Television (SC-ETV) training video about the Marlboro County project is available to help communities provide high quality summer and after-school academic enrichment programs for children.

- **Developed a flagship community-based Freedom School model with the potential to reach 13 million children and extend year-round after school.** This summer nutrition, academic, and cultural enrichment model enhances BCCC's goals of reconnecting children with caring adults; providing children positive alternatives to the streets and idleness; and developing a new generation of college-age servant-leaders who understand both service and advocacy. It is also a vehicle to infuse in a community the vision that every child can learn and to involve parents and religious congregations in the educational process year-round. Over the past three summers, over 400 college students have served about 4,000 children. In 1995 we expect to serve as many or more in 20 sites. BCCC guides on how to start a Freedom School and to utilize the Summer Food Service Program are available along with training.

- **Prepared and disseminated a wide range of public education materials on the Black child crisis and what can be done,** including television and radio public service announcements (PSAs), videos, posters, how-to manuals, and six books and pamphlets. Many are listed in the Appendix.

- **Convened a violence prevention network of about 100 grassroots and policy groups, conducted adult and youth focus groups on violence,** and launched a major Cease Fire! public education campaign on children, guns, and violence. Cease Fire! television PSAs now are running on major networks. Print posters are available, adaptable as bus shelters and billboards, for communities that want to localize the campaign (see page 100).

- **Played an instrumental role in getting nearly $1 billion in prevention monies included in the recently enacted federal crime bill for community schools and the Ounce of Prevention fund to provide children and youths positive alternatives to the streets.** BCCC also helped plan childhood immunization campaigns in selected communities. In 1995 New York City (Brooklyn), the District of Columbia, and the state of Ohio will be sites for CDF–BCCC immunization campaigns. Information and training is available to help you learn more about both, including a new 50-state guide to immunization services.

- **Established task forces of distinguished educators, juvenile court judges, human services administrators, and media experts** to oversee and develop BCCC policy in their areas.

- **Under the leadership of Dr. Edmund Gordon, Yale Professor Emeritus of Psychology, conducted a two-year study seminar on the Black male.** A comprehensive bibliography of all extant research on Black males will be available from CDF–BCCC in 1995. Sage Publications is issuing a scholarly book based on the study. A special report on the policy and other implications will be published in *Necessary* at the end of 1995.

- **Helped develop and field-tested a Child Watch visitation program module to combat community violence and child neglect. A manual and training is available from CDF.** Child Watch personalizes child suffering by taking media, political, religious, and civic leaders to visit child and family programs and to learn about both the problems and the needed solutions. A new module on child poverty is being prepared for 1995.

- **Helped mount a religious action campaign, including an annual Children's Sabbath, every third Sunday in October for congregations to examine and respond to children's needs. Sabbath kits for Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Moslem, and African American Protestant and Catholic congregations and technical assistance are available to help strengthen children, youth, and family ministries.** Thousands of congregations participated in the 1994 Children's Sabbath and more than 42,000 Children's Sabbath kits focused on violence and children were distributed. In 1995 Children's Sabbaths will focus on child poverty.

- **Purchased Alex Haley's 127-acre Tennessee farm as a folk school for life, community-building, spiritual, character, and leadership development, intergenerational mentoring, interracial and interethnic communication, interdisciplinary networking, and training.** The former Haley farm will serve not only as BCCC's home but will be used for all CDF training and networking.

What this Guide Provides

Prepared by the Children's Defense Fund and the BCCC national headquarters staff, this guide begins with a **prayer and covenant for our children.** We urge all Black adults — and all caring Americans — to join our crusade.

In Chapter 1 we lay out: 1) **key facts** about the status of Black children, including a Portrait of Continuing Inequality; 2) a **personal audit** each adult is encouraged to take to ensure that we are part of the solution rather than part of the problem our children face; 3) a **community action agenda** that we ask every Black organization and leader and others to sup-

port and implement locally; and 4) a **public policy agenda** that government at all levels and the private sector should implement in 1995.

Children need a fair opportunity from employers and government at all levels. History has painfully taught Black citizens that government is neither our salvation nor the solution to our problems. Government's discriminatory hand kept Black children less well educated, housed, employed, and protected than White children for centuries. But government and employers must be a part of the solution to the economic crisis our families and communities face. They must be fair in the provision of education, housing, and health opportunities as well as jobs, and help provide our children the tools of work and a fair chance to realize America's dream.

In Chapter 2 we examine some key unfair, radical, anti-child **provisions of the "Contract with America"** and their dangerous implications for all children and especially for Black children and families.

In Chapter 3 lays out and answers some of the **myths now circulating to justify extraordinarily unfair and harmful budget cuts and block grants** that would result in millions of additional children going hungry, becoming sick, and being denied crucial family and community supports. It is important that Black community leaders and the media do their homework, inform themselves, and answer those who distort reality or provide only half-truths.

In Chapter 4 we share **five examples of promising programs.** Through BCCC's best practices clearinghouse and quarterly newsletter, *Necessary,* we will disseminate on a regular basis some of the many examples of programs and policies that work and share some of the news about wonderful citizens working hard to solve our children's problems.

In Chapter 5 we include **50-state and big-city tables on the status of Black children** so that you can see how your state's and city's children are doing compared with others.

The Appendix includes a copy of the full, eloquent **Black Community Crusade for Children Manifesto,** drafted by John Hope Franklin, which guides our Crusade, more information about our Cease Fire! media campaign, and a list of BCCC resources available to help you.

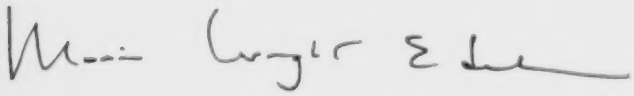
Please share what you learn with your governors, mayors, county executives, and media and civic leaders.

As with all CDF publications, this has been a group effort for which I am deeply grateful. Special thanks go to Tanya Lewis, BCCC's data analyst, and Paul Smith, CDF's director of research; to an extraordinarily able and committed publications staff led by Donna Jablonski; to Amanda Lehrer Nash, who helped compile the profiles of successful programs; and to Ivanna Weikert-Omeechevarria and Ellen Brown Ngalieu, in my office, who were helpful in every way.

I urge every Black leader, religious congregation, and organization to order a copy of this guide, and to copy and circulate all or some of its data and agenda to its membership. This is no time for despair, inaction, sulking, or withdrawal. This is a time for sustained, effective, and massive action to protect our children. Not since slavery have our children faced greater threats from inside or outside our community to their safety, well-being, and futures. Black leaders need to sing from the same hymnbook and to answer with timely and accurate data those who spread myths and perpetuate stereotypes to further political agendas that hurt our children. All Black leaders must hold political leaders accountable for how they treat our children. So I urge every Black adult to request and circulate CDF's annual voting record showing how members of Congress vote each year on key children's issues, urge every Black newspaper and magazine to publish it each year, and every Black radio station to let its listeners know whether their representatives are helping or hurting our children.

Our children desperately need our personal one-on-one attention, and they also need our political attention. Democracy is not a spectator sport. Calling, writing, speaking, picketing, protesting, and voting are all going to be needed in the coming months and years if we do not want to regress to old racial divisions and policies of neglect and hate. Any adult who cares about children must take steps to ensure that no child is left behind in this time of great national danger and challenge. If you do not speak for children, who will?

Most of all, our children need our prayers and commitment. Please join me in this prayer and covenant to protect our children.



Marian Wright Edelman
President
Children's Defense Fund

A Prayer and Covenant for Children

O God, we pray for children who woke up this morning in dens of dope rather than in homes of hope, with hunger in their bellies and hunger in their spirits, without parents or friends to care, pay attention to, listen to, morally guide, affirm, and lovingly discipline them.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children who have no one to pray for them or protect and help them and who are being abused or neglected right now by parents who often themselves were abused or neglected.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children who are sick from diseases we could have prevented, who are dying from guns we could have controlled, and who are killing from rage we could have averted by loving attention and positive alternatives.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children struggling to live to adulthood in the war zones of our cities, who plan their own funerals and fear each day will be their last. We mourn for the thousands of children whose life journeys already have ended too violently and too soon.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children who are born with two, three, or more strikes already against them — too tiny to live, too sick with AIDS, too addicted to alcohol or cocaine or heroin to thrive.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for girl children having children without husband or steady friend or lifeline of support, who don't know how to parent and who need parenting themselves. And we pray for teen and adult fathers to take full responsibility for their children.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children who will be born and grow up in poverty without a seat at America's table of plenty; for youths who believe their only hope for employment is drug dealing, who feel their only sense of belonging and love is in gangs, who think their only haven is the streets, and who believe their only tomorrow is prison or death.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children and youths in every community struggling to make sense of life, confused by adults who tell them one thing and do another;

who tell them not to fight but who fight and tell them not to take drugs while taking drugs.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for children from whom we expect too little and for those from whom we expect too much; for those who have too little to live on and for those with so much they appreciate little; for children afflicted by want and children afflicted by affluence in a society that defines them by what they have rather than who they are — Thy loving gift.

Help us to welcome them in our hearts and communities and nation.

We pray for ourselves as parents, teachers, preachers, and leaders, that we will help solve rather than cause the problems our children face, by struggling to be worthy of emulation, remembering we teach each minute by example.

We **covenant** to work to save our children's lives.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to work to guard our children's dreams.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to work to rekindle our children's hopes.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to work to rebuild our children's families.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to teach our children moral values by precept and example.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to work to protect our children's futures.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to work to reinstill in our children a knowledge and appreciation of their traditions and heritage.

Strengthen us.

We **covenant** to work together, organize, and vote to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life.

Guide us.

We **covenant** to work together, mobilize, and vote to make it un-American for children to be the poorest group of citizens among us or to be killed by guns, poverty, abuse, or neglect we have the power to prevent.

Guide us.

We **covenant** to collaborate and work with each other and with any friend of children and to reach out to, seek to transform — and oppose when necessary — any foe whose proposals and actions will make more children destitute, hungry, homeless, uneducated, uncared for, unsafe, or orphaned.

Guide us.

We **covenant** to build and work for an America that judges all children by the content of their character rather than by the color of their skin, economic or family status, gender, or disability and to raise our voices against those who seek to divide us.

Guide us.

We **covenant** to work together, organize, and mobilize to create a nation that welcomes and values every child, whose leaders and citizens place children first in word *and* deed, and where the "streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in its streets."

Guide us.

We **covenant** to work to Leave No Child Behind.

Guide us.

(From an upcoming meditation guide by Marian Wright Edelman, to be published by Beacon Press.)

Chapter 1

Why Everyone in America Must Care About Black Children — and All Children

. . . I beg of you to remember that wherever our life touches yours, we help or hinder. Wherever your life touches ours, you make us stronger or weaker. No member of your race in any part of our country can harm the meanest member of mine without the proudest and bluest blood in Massachusetts being degraded. When Mississippi commits crime, New England commits crime, and in so much, lowers the standard of our civilization. There is no escape – man drags down, or man lifts up.

Booker T. Washington
Harvard alumni dinner, 1896

We take care of our possessions for our children. But of the children themselves we take no care at all. What an absurdity is this. Form the soul of thy son aright, and all the rest will be added hereafter.

St. John Chrysostom

Every child comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged of man.

Rabindranath Tagore

Give justice to the weak and the fatherless; maintain the right of the afflicted and the destitute.

Rescue the weak and the needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked.

Psalm 82

The Black child crisis is not just a crisis for Black children or for the Black community. It is an urgent national and moral crisis. Black children constitute one-sixth of America's future productivity — or lack of it. Black males under 24 constitute 14 percent of all 18- to 24-year-old males but over 40 percent of that age group in prison at a taxpayer levy of $15,586 each a year. We pay dearly for our refusal to provide young Black males a fair opportunity in the early years. Jobs or jails is a value choice. We need to offer hope and life rather than prison and death.

Black women constitute one-eighth of all adult females but three in eight of the mothers on AFDC. We pay dearly, too, for refusing to provide them a fair opportunity. Jobs or welfare is a value choice, as is a decision to deny children of welfare mothers the chance to avoid future welfare dependency.

If America's dream is not available to all it ultimately will dim and die for all. Injustice to some children threatens the well-being of all children.

It is immoral, unfair, unnecessary, and un-American that children are the poorest group in the richest nation on earth. It is also impractical. America's quality of life, productivity, and future are as inextricably intertwined with its poor as with its non-poor children. This chapter, therefore, sounds a gong of warning that the deepening Black child crisis is only the most evident tip of the huge national iceberg of child neglect; that family disintegration in all race and income groups will wreck America's ship of state unless we rechart our national course, transform our national values, and reorder our national investment priorities to place children first; and that all of us must work tirelessly to prevent a looming collision at the dangerous national intersection of race, poverty, violence, and greed on the eve of a new millennium.

A nation that believes it can mistreat and vilify Black and Brown and poor and disabled children without jeopardizing and devaluing all children, and without perverting the values of children of affluence, is arrogantly fooling itself. The proof already exists in the messy pudding of violence, family breakdown, abuse, neglect, drug and alcohol abuse, and moral drift oozing through our suburbs, small towns, rural areas, and inner cities alike. While the media whip up a frenzy of White fear about Black street crime, they fail to address the pervasive family violence problem that takes many more White than Black lives. Moreover, the reckless trafficking in non-sporting firearms has taken far more White than Black child lives in our shameful ongoing domestic war. Gun suicides, which exceed gun homicides, claimed 331,240 White lives between 1968 and 1991 — 1.8 times the number of Black gun suicides and homicides combined. Excessively violent video games and movies are marketed to and polluting the values of White suburban as well as inner-city youths. A majority of the buyers of Dr. Dre's and Snoop Doggy Dogg's vile misogynous music and lyrics are White.

While Black youth crime, violence, family stress, drug use, and out-of-wedlock births are urgent problems we must address, White youth and family violence, stress, and gangs, family disintegration, and drug use are also urgent problems. Far more White than Black children are poor, abused, and neglected, and become pregnant as teens. For example:

- Between 1970 and 1993, the proportion of children living with a never-married parent increased seven-fold among Black children and 24-fold among White children.
- White teens accounted for two-thirds of the total births to teens in 1992.
- Many more White than Black youths die from guns in the household.
- Young families in all races have lost over 30 percent of their earning power since 1973 due to stagnating wages and other structural changes in the economy. Coupled with the erosion of

Gail: One Child's Life in America Today

The crisis of violence against children and lack of community are heard in the voice of one eight-year-old Black girl named Gail, who said:

> "In my neighborhood there is a lot of shooting and three people got shot. On the next day when I was going to school I saw a little stream of blood on the ground. One day after school me and my mother had to dodge bullets – I was not scared.
>
> "There is a church and a school that I go to in my neighborhood. There are robbers that live in my building, they broke into our house twice. There are rowhouses in my neighborhood and a man got shot, and he was dead. On another day I saw a boy named Zak get shot. By King High School Susan Harris got shot and she died. It was in the newspaper. When me and my mother was going to church we could see the fire from the guns being shot in 4414 building. I was not scared. In my neighborhood there are too many fights. I have never been in a fight before. There are many trees in my neighborhood.
>
> "God is going to come back one day and judge the world. Not just my neighborhood.
>
> "I know these are really really bad things, but I have some good things in my neighborhood. Like sometimes my neighborhood is peaceful and quiet and there is no shooting. When me and my mother and some friends go to the lake we have a lot of fun. Sometimes the children in my building go to Sunday School with me and my mother. Also the building I live in is so tall I can see downtown and the lake. It looks so pretty.
>
> "I believe in God and I know one day we will be in a gooder place than we are now."

All across our nation, children like Gail are struggling to survive in a living hell. Children like Gail can only cling to their faith and their families, and pray that one day they will be in a "gooder place."

In a decent, democratic nation children shouldn't have to pray and wait in fear. I believe that we are called, as people of faith, to be active participants in working to manifest that "gooder place" right here and right now for our children.

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health benefits, young parents find themselves working more for less, and having less time to spend with their children. While unskilled White males correctly feel they are losing ground, so are Black males, whose earnings have declined even more.

Scapegoating the weak, minority groups, legal immigrants, or others some view as "different" will not help us find common ground for national progress or help us overcome the pervasive breakdown of moral, family, and community values in all race and income groups. It is time for politicians to stop blaming welfare babies for billion-dollar deficits they — not babies — voted for. Indeed, poor babies dependent on welfare have lost 12 percent of their benefits ($449 per year) to inflation since 1980, while Congress has increased its spending by 23 percent for each of its 535 members (an increase of over $800,000 a member per year) in real 1995 dollars. Poor children have not walked away with the national purse; the wealthiest individuals, corporations, and banks have. The interest we pay every year to banks on the national debt costs more than all the benefits we pay welfare mothers. The poor do not receive the bulk of government subsidies; the middle class and wealthy do. And permitting children — of any color or family type — to grow up without needed health care, nutrition, education, and in families destabilized by joblessness and economic insecurity will not strengthen America's future and social fabric: it will weaken them and cost every taxpayer more later.

Black Children's Chances

- A **Black boy** today has less than a 1 in 9,000 chance of becoming an NBA player, and less than a 1 in 11,000 chance of becoming a major league baseball player.
- A Black boy today has a 1 in 3,700 chance of getting a Ph.D. in mathematics, engineering, or the physical sciences; a 1 in 395 chance of becoming a physician; a 1 in 2,546 chance of becoming a dentist; a 1 in 766 chance of becoming a lawyer; and a 1 in 195 chance of becoming a teacher.
- But that same Black boy has a 1 in 2 chance of never going to college even if he graduates from high school; a 1 in 6 chance of dropping out of high school; a 1 in 9 chance of using cocaine; a 1 in 12 chance of having gonorrhea; and a 1 in 20 chance of being imprisoned in his twenties.
- A **Black girl** today has less than a 1 in 16,000 chance of receiving a Ph.D. in mathematics, engineering, or the physical sciences; a 1 in 591 chance of becoming a physician; a 1 in 3,241 chance of becoming a dentist; a 1 in 236 chance of becoming a lawyer; and a 1 in 68 chance of becoming a teacher.
- That same Black girl has a 1 in 2 chance of never going to college even if she graduates from high school; a 1 in 3 chance of giving birth before her twentieth birthday; a 1 in 7 chance of dropping out of high school; 1 in 11 chance of using cocaine; and a 1 in 17 chance of having gonorrhea.

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An International Comparison of Homicide Rates for Males, 15 to 24 Years Old, 1992, per 100,00

Note: For countries with at least 1 million males, 15-24 years old, age-specific rates were calculated using data for the most recent year available (between the years 1988-1992). For countries with fewer than 1 million males in the age grou

Source: World Health Statistics Annuals, 1991 and 1992, Geneva: World Health Organization; National Center for Health Statistics, *Advance Report of Final Mortality Statistics, 1992*. Monthly vital statistics report; vol. 43 no. 6, suppl., Hyatt

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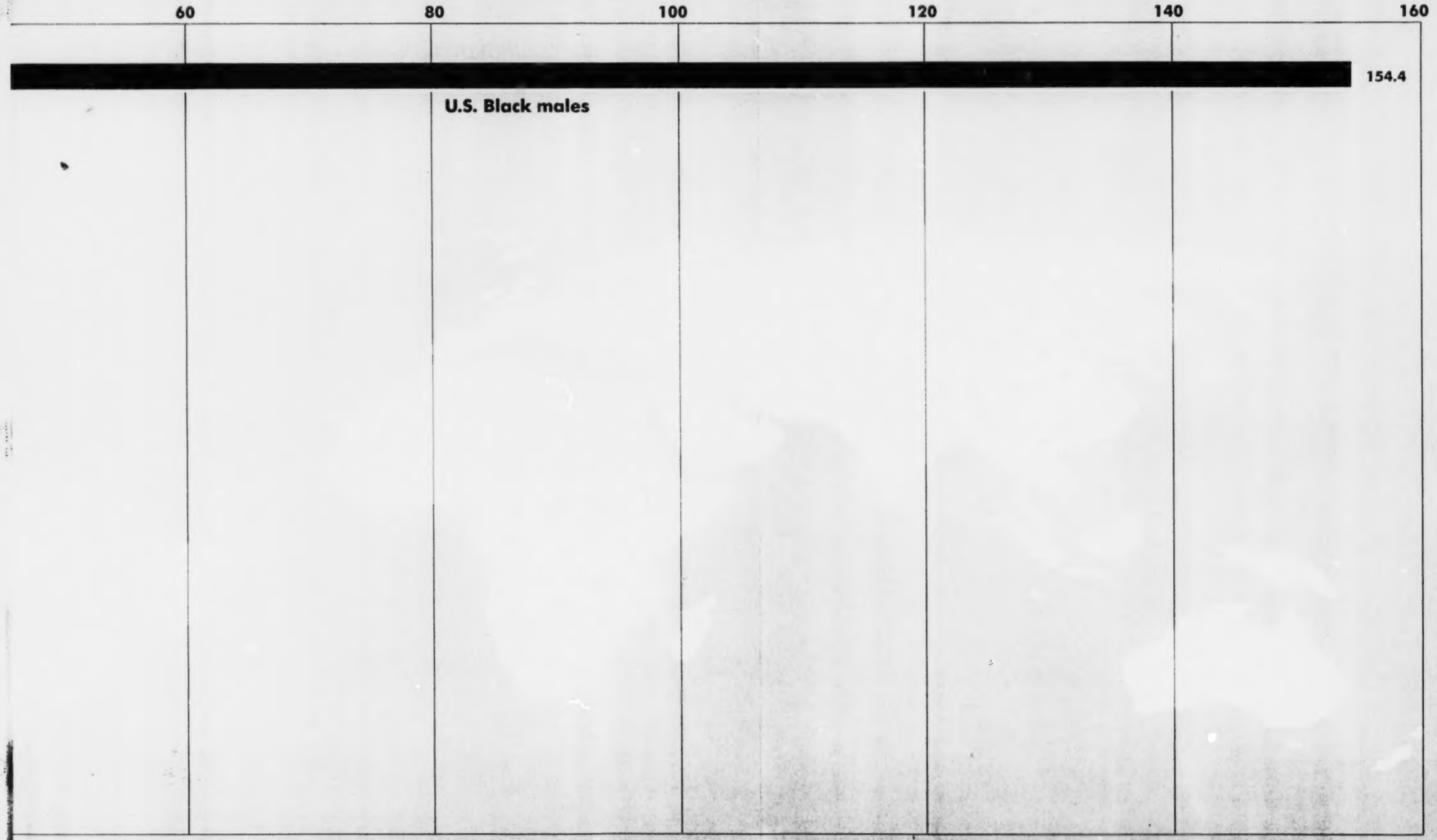
Rates for Males, 15 to 24 Years Old, 1992, per 100,000



ing data for the most recent year available (between the years 1988-1992). For countries with fewer than 1 million males in the age group, age-specific rates were calculated using data for the two most recent years available.

al Center for Health Statistics, *Advance Report of Final Mortality Statistics, 1992.* Monthly vital statistics report; vol. 43 no. 6, suppl., Hyattsville, Maryland; Public Health Service. 1994, Table 6.

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A Nation-Threatening Crisis

Although we are allowing millions of children in all racial groups to fall behind, Black children are suffering disproportionately. A Black child:

- Is born to a single mother every 69 seconds.
- Drops out of school every 53 seconds of the school day.
- Is born into poverty every 85 seconds.
- Is born to a teen mother every 3 minutes.
- Is born at low birthweight every 6 minutes.
- Is born to a mother who had late or no prenatal care every 8 minutes.
- Is arrested for a violent crime every 10 minutes.
- Is killed by a gun every 4 hours.

The Crisis Facing Black Males

- Homicide is the leading cause of death for Black males 15 to 24 years old, who suffer a murder *every two hours*. Their homicide rate is more than eight times the White rate.
- As a Black boy approaches manhood, his likelihood of being a violent crime victim steadily increases. More than one in 10 – 134 of every 1,000 12- to 15-year-old Black boys, and 147 of every 1,000 16- to 19-year-old Black males – are victims of violent crimes.
- As of June 1993, 1,295 Black boys had been reported diagnosed with AIDS before their thirteenth birthdays.
- Nearly one out of every six Black male students 14 to 19 years old is at least two grade levels behind.
- Every two days a Black boy under 20 commits suicide.
- About 340,000 Black boys do not live with their parents. While more than half live with a grandparent, one in eight lives with a non-relative.
- The median weekly earnings of full-time Black male employees 16 to 24 years old is $253. For those over 25 it is $395 – less than three-quarters of that of their White counterparts.
- More than 150,000 Black men under 25 are in prisons; only 86,000 are living in college dorms.
- Black males in public schools are: 2.2 times as likely as White males to be placed in special education programs for mental retardation (one out of every 34 Black male students is placed in such programs); 1.5 times as likely to be placed in programs for serious emotional disturbances (one out of every 62 Black males); and 2.7 times as likely to be corporally punished.

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While we know how to vaccinate children against preventable childhood diseases, to provide them health care, to take steps to prevent the easy availability of guns to children, and to prevent many family crises before they require removal of children from home:

- In 1992, 49 percent of all Black children 19 to 35 months old were not fully immunized and one in eight Black children was not covered by any health insurance. If Medicaid did not exist, nearly half of all Black children would have no health coverage. If Medicaid is cut, millions of Black children would be desperately hurt.

- Homicide is the leading cause of death for Black youths 15 to 24 years old, and the second leading cause of death for Black children five to 14 years old. Firearm injuries accounted for 81 percent of all the homicides of African Americans under 25. In 1991, 264 Black children 14 and under were killed by guns. This is more child homicides than occurred in Northern Ireland. More Black males are killed every year from guns than were killed in all the lynchings in American history.

- Black children represented approximately 26 percent, or 245,777, of the children reported abused and neglected in 44 states in 1992 and are disproportionately represented in the foster care system. Black children enter foster care at younger ages and stay longer than other children.

A Portrait of Continuing Inequality

Since legal segregation began to crumble, millions of Black families and children have made significant progress. But today a Black child still lacks a fair chance to live, learn, thrive, and contribute in America. Compared with a White child, a Black child is:

One and a half times as likely to:

- Grow up in a family whose head did not finish high school.
- Have fair or poor health.
- Drop out of school.

Two times as likely to:

- Live below the poverty level as a preschooler if dependent solely on the father's income.
- Be arrested for property crimes.
- Be born to a teenage mother.
- Be unemployed as a teen.
- Be unemployed as an adult.

Two and a half times as likely to:

- Be born at a low birthweight.
- Die during the first year of life.
- Have parents who separate.
- Be behind grade level at 18 and 19 years of age.
- Grow up in a family whose head did not graduate from college.

Three times as likely to:

- Live in a single-parent home.
- Live in group quarters.
- Be suspended from school or corporally punished.

Four times as likely to:

- Be born to a mother who had no prenatal care.
- Have a mother who dies in childbirth.
- Die from HIV infection.

Four and a half times as likely to:

- Live with neither parent.

Five times as likely to:

- Depend solely on a mother's earnings.
- Be arrested for a violent crime.

What Black Parents Think

When asked the most important steps to improving circumstances for African American children:

- 35 percent of all Black adults said "education" is the key.
- 32 percent cited "values."
- 12 percent said that "thinking positive" about the future was most important.

There is widespread support among Black adults for programs and policies that invest directly in children. For exomple, when asked what should be at the top of the list of priorities for helping Black children:

- 81 percent of all African American adults cited health care.
- 78 percent cited job training and employment.
- 78 percent pointed to quality public schools.
- 75 percent said quality preschools.

Seventy-three percent of Black adults said "moral and religious values" should be at the top of the priority list for Black children.

From a poll conducted for the Black Community Crusade for Children by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc., January 1994.

Nine times as likely to:

- Be a victim of homicide as a teenager or young adult, the conclusion of a winding, uphill struggle to beat the odds against success.

Even when Black children play by the rules, stay in school, and graduate, they cannot earn on an equal par with Whites. **A Black high school *graduate* is nearly one and a half times more likely to be unemployed than a White high school *dropout*, and a Black *college graduate* is more likely to be unemployed than a White high school graduate with no college.** If a Black adult does find work, he brings home $168 a week less.

What We All Must Do for Children

All around us worlds are dying and new worlds are being born;
All around us life is dying and life is born.
The fruit ripens on the tree;
The roots are silently at work in the darkness of the earth
Against the time when there shall be new leaves, fresh blossoms, green fruit.
Such is the growing edge!
It is the extra breath from the exhausted lung,
The one more thing to try when all else has failed,
The upward reach of life when weariness closes in upon all endeavor.
This is the basis of hope in moments of despair,
The incentive to carry on when times are out of joint
And men have lost their reason; the source of confidence
When worlds crash and dreams whiten into ash.
The birth of a child – life's most dramatic answer to death –
This is the Growing Edge incarnate.
Look well to the growing edge!

The Growing Edge
by Howard Thurman

1. **Pray.** Gandhi reminded us that some mountains can only be moved by prayer. The crisis America — and we — face is not political; it is spiritual. While we do not believe it is the government's role to teach children to pray in school or anywhere else, we do believe personal and family devotions at home and in religious congregations help our children bear the toils, snares, stresses, and psychic assaults of modern life. I hope many will consider weekly prayer circles for and with our children and families in homes and congregations. We need to ask God's help to overcome the mountains of family, community, and moral disintegration and escalating racial and economic polarization.

2. **Be accountable.** Conduct a **personal audit** to determine whether you are contributing to the crisis our children face or the solutions they urgently need.

Our children don't need or expect us to be perfect. They do need and expect us to be honest, admit and correct our mistakes, and share our struggles about the meanings and responsibilities of parenthood, citizenship, and life. Before we can pull up the moral weeds of violence, materialism, and greed in our society that are suffocating our children, we must pull up the moral weeds in our own personal backyards. So many children are confused about what is right and wrong because so many adults talk right and do wrong in our personal, professional, and public lives.

- If we are not supporting a child we brought into the world as a father or as a mother with attention, time, love, discipline, the teaching of values, and money, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we are using and abusing tobacco, alcohol, cocaine, or other drugs while telling our children not to, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we have guns in our home and rely on them to feel safe and powerful, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we are spending more time worrying about our children's clothes than about their character, about the kinds of cars they are driving than about how they got the cars and where and with whom they are driving, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we are spending more time on our children's recreation than reading, on their dance steps than their discipline, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we are more worried about our children's earnings than their honesty, about their acceptance than about their achievement, and about their status than their service, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we think it's somebody else's responsibility to teach our children values, respect, good manners, and work and health habits, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we send rather than take our child to Sunday school and worship services, and believe that the Sermon on the Mount, Ten Commandments, and the Koran pertain only to one day worship but not to Monday through Sunday home, professional, and political life, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we or our organizations are spending more money on alcohol and entertainment than on scholarships, books, tutoring, rites

of passage, and mentoring programs for youths, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we'd rather talk the talk than walk the walk to the voting booth, school board meetings, political forums, and congregation and community meetings to organize community and political support for our children, then we are a part of the problem and not the solution.

- If our children know more about Dr. Dre than about Dr. DuBois and are more exposed to the obscene music that disrespects our grandmothers and mothers and sisters and daughters than they are to the inspirational lives of Sojourner Truth and Mary McLeod Bethune, then we are a part of the problem and not the solution.

- If our children think that being smart and studying hard is acting White rather than acting Black and don't know about the many great Black achievers who overcame every obstacle to succeed, then we are a part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

- If we still are using White racism as an excuse for not voting and are not holding political leaders accountable for voting relative pennies for Head Start and pounds for the defense budget, and for opposing welfare for poor mothers and children while protecting welfare for rich farmers and corporate executives, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we think corrupt and unaccountable Black leaders who neglect our children and communities are better than corrupt and unaccountable White leaders who neglect our children and communities, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we think we have ours and don't owe any time or money or effort to help those left behind, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

- If we think being American is about how much we can get rather than how much we can give, that things and not thought, cash and not character make the person, then we are a part of the problem rather than the solution.

3. Care. Every Black parent, adult, and organization must act to reclaim and protect Black children whether anybody else in America wants to help or everybody seeks to hinder, and regardless of the political weather. We must stand up to whomever seeks to harm our children like the oak tree in Howard Thurman's childhood, described in *The Growing*

Edge, whose leaves hang on through the winter's sleet and snow and storms until the new buds — its growing edge — can emerge and thrive.

If there is a single lesson taught by our four-century sojourn in America, it is that we Black people have always had to do for ourselves and for our children because no one else would. Today is no exception. That's why the Black Community Crusade for Children seeks to seed a new movement to heal our nation by healing our children — all of them. Each of us must keep planting seeds and plowing and watering the ground to ready it for the new social movement, which God will make grow in His own time. We must keep lighting our small flickering candles of service, holding them closer and closer to each other, until they ignite a great light that can transform our nation and world.

Do not get impatient or give up when setback after setback occurs or nothing seems to happen. A lot of Black people sat down in the "White" seats of buses without sparking a movement before Rosa Parks' feet got tired and her tolerance of indignity was spent. When it is time, it will happen if we keep doing our work. So do not get discouraged, withdraw, let yourself off the hook, or become cynical because the media say nothing matters and prefer to report bad rather than good news. You matter to our children. The actions of human beings caused the mess our children face, and it is only human action and social struggle that will clean it up — with God's help. So every day, light your small candle. It just might be the one that sparks the movement to save our children and the nation's future. As long as Jesse Helms and others who seek to return to past unjust policies can keep going, you and I can keep going.

4. Organize. Collaborate with other organizations to celebrate and support children in your community. Try one of the activities below or create your own.

- Sponsor a **Beat the Odds** celebration highlighting our children's strengths. Although this guide focuses on the many problems Black children face, there is hope. Millions of our children are staying in school, are not on drugs or in gangs, and are struggling to succeed despite the decay and disarray all around them. Let's reward and publicize them. Over the past several years, groups in Los Angeles, New York City, the District of Columbia, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Atlanta, and East St. Louis have honored young people who are beating the odds. These are inspiring evenings. Many school officials have said it's the first time television cameras have come to their schools to film positive rather than negative youth conduct. If you are interested in sponsoring a Beat the Odds celebration in your city, CDF–BCCC has a how-to manual and video to help you. We also encourage you to attend our annual Beat the Odds program in the District of Columbia to experience firsthand this uplifting event.

- Participate in or conduct **Child Watch visitations** for local leaders to see, hear, feel, and understand the plight of children in your community. The Child Watch visitation program gives leaders a firsthand view of children's suffering by taking them to neonatal intensive care wards, city morgues, and homeless shelters. It also shows them ways to respond, by visiting inspiring programs and people making a difference for children. So many political, media, civic, and religious leaders are out of touch with or are afraid of our children. Minneapolis Archbishop John Roach, after his participation in a Child Watch visit in his city, commented: "Earlier today, as we started this tour, someone called us the movers and shakers of the religious community. After this experience, we are the moved and shaken." Join him in letting yourself be moved and shaken to action. At this dangerous time, when some would mindlessly cut or eliminate crucial child and youth investments, taking your political leaders out to visit Head Start, child care, family support, nutrition, and after-school programs is extremely important. They need to realize that they are not just dealing with faceless numbers but with real human beings who will suffer from unfair and indiscriminate budget slashing. Contact Sharon Ladin at 202-628-8787 to find out how you can get involved with a Child Watch visit.

- Urge your religious congregation to sponsor an annual **Children's Sabbath** the third weekend each October (in 1995, October 20-22) and to make service to children a seven-day-a-week commitment. It is time for the religious community to be the moral locomotive rather than the moral caboose in ensuring fairness for children and the poor. The Children's Sabbath is now on the official calendar of the National Council of Churches and is endorsed by the Congress of National Black Churches and over 40 leading religious networks and leaders. How constant is your congregation's presence in children's lives? How many days and hours are your doors open? How relevant is your youth ministry to the children left behind? Crack houses are always open and drug dealers work long hours. How well are people of faith competing with them for our children's safety?

- Conduct **oratorical contests** to build Black youth confidence in public speaking and to teach them their rich culture, history, and legacy. Too many Black adults have not taught our children about their great heritage — about the kings and queens of courage and achievement who overcame slavery and segregation and helped make our land fairer for all Americans. Too many children never have heard of Medgar Evers, who died so that they could vote and sit where they want in public spaces. They've never read or spoken the eloquent words of Black Nobel Peace Laureates like Ralph Bunche, Martin Luther King Jr., Chief Luthuli, Desmond Tutu, and Nelson Mandela, or basked in the literary genius of Nobel Laureates Wole Soyinka, Derek Walcott,

and Toni Morrison. They've not fought and overcome slavery with Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Frederick Douglass or wrestled segregation to the ground with Fannie Lou Hamer, Thurgood Marshall, and Rosa Parks. They don't know how Black children and youths withstood bombings and fire hoses in Birmingham and mobs in Little Rock and Nashville and taunts and jeers in Greensboro to overcome segregation and discrimination with moral courage rather than guns. They have not read Benjamin Mays' and Mary McLeod Bethune's and Malcolm X's words telling them they can do anything and overcome any odds. They have not prayed with Paul Laurence Dunbar or Howard Thurman or laughed and cried with Langston Hughes' "Simple." Not enough of our children have a positive self-image or are trained to speak to an audience. Communicating is basic and it ought to and can be fun. For copies of great Black speeches for oratorical contests in your community and school, write CDF–BCCC in late 1995 or simply go to the public library, or ask people you admire for copies of their speeches. Spelling bees and math contests are other ways to foster academic skills in a fun way.

- Sponsor a **Freedom School** in your community each summer or sponsor one or more Black college students for training and summer internships. It costs about $60,000 to operate a Summer Freedom School for 100 children and about $3,000 to sponsor a college student teacher/intern to work with children. Freedom Schools can operate in schools, religious congregations, and community and recreation centers. Please request a how-to manual and video about BCCC's summer food, academic, and cultural enrichment model. The BSLN/BCCC also provides training if you desire to become a Freedom School sponsor and meet the criteria for a sponsoring organization.

- Provide year-round **safe havens and homework centers** for children in your schools, congregations, libraries, community centers, and homes. Children need safe places to go after school, on weekends, and during idle summer months to understand the importance of homework, get help in doing it well, and to know that achievement is a Black tradition and expectation. Every community should have a network of mentors working together to ensure that every child has at least one adult who has taken personal responsibility for his or her well-being.

- Conduct a **community audit.** What activities in your communities are available for children and youths before and after school, on weekends, and during idle summer months? What activities are there for parents and children together? What activities are free or cost very little so poor families can participate? What is available right in neighborhoods for families lacking transportation?

What supports and activities are available to parents in your congregations and businesses? Do your employers provide health coverage for employees and their children, shift that responsibility to the government, or simply leave them at risk? Do inner-city children who play by the rules, stay in school, and graduate get summer jobs from local employers? We suspect that the level of youth violence and other youth problems will significantly reflect the level of community attention, outreach, and positive alternatives provided.

- Support the **CDF–BCCC agenda** in your community and in your networks through your votes and voices. Every year, ask for this BCCC guide on the status of Black children. Read it, study the annual community action and policy priorities, spread the word about Black child needs, and press for positive actions in your communities, city councils, state legislatures, and with your congressional representatives. Each year BCCC leaders will take this agenda to our federal administration, all members of Congress including the Congressional Black Caucus, state and local officials, and the media. If 10 percent of Black organizations and Black congregations provided a letter offering on one key BCCC priority for children each year, it would make an enormous difference. So would massive and informed voting.

5. Vote. Hold our political leaders accountable. So many Black people struggled and died for a right to vote that millions of Black folk did not bother to exercise in the last election. Our children will never become the top national priority unless we make clear to our leaders that walking on the moon, going to Mars, or building a new missile system to guard against foreign enemies must take a backseat to our children walking safely to and from school, in our neighborhoods, and into the future with decent education and jobs. Our children need to see and hear Black adults acting and speaking for them in crucial health, welfare, education, crime, and economic policy debates and standing up to those who would do them harm. Every major federal, state, and local budget, health, education, and welfare change, and any kind of "reform" effort in this budget-cutting era, must be examined by the following criteria:

Every major federal, state, and local budget, health, education, and welfare change, and any kind of "reform" effort in this budget-cutting era, must be examined by the following criteria:

- Does it help or hurt children, and which children? Make more or fewer children poor?

- Will it make parents and families more or less self-sufficient? Help families stay together or break families up?

- Does it help people work or reward wealth? Will it benefit the few who have much rather than the many who have little?

We must defeat any proposals – federal, state, or local – that make more children destitute, homeless, hungry, unsafe, or at risk of abuse, neglect, or family breakdown.

Some politicians would have us believe that abdication of responsibility for our children and other disadvantaged groups will free us to balance the budget, eliminate crime, repair the family, and renew hope in America. But what kind of America is it that has lost a sense of compassion and care for children? How can we be proud of an economic system that is not productive enough to ensure the basic subsistence needs of over 15 million of our young and usher them through doors of opportunity? What kind of America would leave 5 million to 6 million more children destitute and create orphanages for children solely because their parents are poor or teens?

Millions of children need help now. And we must insist that our political leaders not only hold them harmless but act with urgency to provide them:

- **A Healthy Start.** In 1995 we must fight for enactment of a Children First universal health plan to cover every child and pregnant woman. We must also fight any attempts to repeal, weaken, or slash the Vaccines for Children program, Medicaid coverage, and federal health protections for children.

- **A Head Start.** We seek $1 billion in new funding for the successful Head Start program, reauthorization of the Child Care and Development Block Grant, adequate funding for child care programs for children of welfare mothers who seek work or training, and child care for low-income working families. We will oppose all efforts to block grant Head Start.

- **A Fair Start.** Jobs, jobs, jobs, education and training, and community economic reinvestment are essential for parents to raise their children in dignity. Any reform of the welfare system must increase parental self-sufficiency, responsibility, and support for their children and not increase the destitution and suffering of children.

- **A Safe Start.** Guns must be regulated as a dangerous consumer product. We will oppose all efforts to repeal the Brady Bill, the assault weapons ban, or key provisions of the crime bill like community schools and the Ounce of Prevention Fund. We also will establish Safe Start coalitions in target communities; work to deglamorize and denormalize violence by speaking out against and avoiding toy guns, violent video games, and excessively violent television shows and movies; emphasize nonviolent conflict resolution and peer mediation strategies; and engage in massive public education through a Cease Fire! media campaign.

- **A Moral Start.** We must insist on a government that is caring and not callous and that treats the weak as fairly as the strong and children as fairly as voting adults and special interest groups. We also must insist that our political leaders reflect America's ideals of fairness and opportunity for all in what they do.

CDF–BCCC 1995 Public Policy Agenda

A Caring Covenant Rather than a Callous Assault on America's Children

- Is it as fair to women as to men? To children as to adults? To the poor and middle class as to the wealthy? To domestic needs as to the military?

- Does it save money in the short and long term or cost more money?

- Will it increase or decrease fair opportunity and personal responsibility?

- Will it increase or decrease tension and gaps between racial, gender, age, and income groups?

In sum, is it fair?

6. Insist that government at all levels does its part to provide a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start. Urgently resist cruel budget cuts and dismantlement of effective children's programs. Support the CDF–BCCC priority agenda in 1995 by calling, visiting, and writing your officials now (see page 17).

By a **Healthy Start** we mean that children have healthy bodies and minds. This requires that children are: born to mothers who have received adequate prenatal care, get well-baby care, are fully immunized, are drug- and alcohol-free, are educated about and protected against too-early pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and the HIV virus, and have access to a comprehensive health and mental health care system.

By a **Head Start** we mean that children get the foundation they need to take advantage of educational and work opportunities. This requires parents to be involved in their children's learning; children to have access to programs and supports that enable them to begin school ready to learn both developmentally and attitudinally; that schools, through high expectations, high quality staff and curriculum, and a commitment to equity, provide an environment that fosters continued success; and that youths look to a lifelong process of learning that allows them to reach their full potential.

By a **Fair Start** we mean that children grow up in families and communities that are economically secure. This requires that welfare and other systems that support poor families prepare youths for employment through appropriate job training, when it is needed, and find jobs that pay livable wages. When jobs do not pay above poverty wages, the Earned Income Credit, child support, and other measures to ensure that children are economically secure must be present. A Fair Start also implies that children live in communities that are economically developed and offer fair and reasonable access to adequate and competitively priced housing, goods, and services, as well as opportunities to work. Finally, and most importantly, a Fair Start means strong parents, parenting values, and family supports.

By a **Safe Start** we mean that children are safe and secure. This requires safe corridors to and from school and places for children to go for education, recreation, and other developmental opportunities without fear after school, on weekends, and in the summer. It also requires that the whole community and larger society ensure that children are not exposed to violence through the media, at home, or in the community and that they act to stop the proliferation of non-sporting firearms and ammunition in the hands of children and of people who kill children.

By a **Moral Start** we mean that children are taught the enduring values of honesty, hard work, discipline, self- and mutual respect, responsibility, and of doing unto others as they'd have done to themselves. We advocate no judgmental exclusionary we–they moralism that applies a litmus test of moral correctness. Rather we seek a morality grounded in our Judeo-Christian traditions, and in the gospel that teaches us to help rather than to judge the poor and each other, to love rather than to hate, and to respect every child as God's gift.

By **healthy and nurturing communities** we mean that African Americans help create communities and environments in which all children are supported, nurtured, and encouraged by adults who work untiringly on their behalf and promote positive values and expectations. This requires a 24-hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week web of support. Community institutions like congregations and schools must be responsive to the needs of children and families by sponsoring programs and activities that build vibrant community life.

An Unfair Contract with America's Children

Chapter 2

I will seek the lost, and I will bring back the strayed, and I will bind up the injured, and I will strengthen the weak, but the fat and strong I will destroy. I will feed them with justice.

Ezekiel 34: 16

The obligation to provide justice for all means that the poor have the single most urgent economic claim on the conscience of the nation.

Economic Justice For All, Catholic Social Teaching of the U.S. Economy, Bishop's Pastoral Letter 1986

This is no time for romantic illusions and empty philosophical debates about freedom. This is a time for action. What is needed is a strategy for change, a tactical program that will bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the nonviolent movement. Without recognizing this we will end up with solutions that don't solve, answers that don't answer and explanations that don't explain. And the other thing that I am concerned about is a better world. I'm concerned about justice. I'm concerned about brotherhood. I'm concerned about truth.

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?

The greatest single challenge to America's values, stability, security, and future is the mass of millions of neglected, abused, alienated, undereducated, unemployed and underemployed, depressed, aimless, and violent children and youths of all races struggling to survive and grow up in economically and spiritually desolate inner-city, rural, and suburban areas. Although millions of our children already face more poverty, violence, family breakdown, and community abandonment than they can bear, they now face new political leaders advocating a "Contract with America," which, among other things, would:

1. **Make as many as 5 million to 6 million additional children destitute by permanently rescinding and denying them benefits** if they are born to teen parents or parents already receiving AFDC, if their parents have exceeded arbitrary time limits for welfare receipt, or if paternity has not been established for them. Children born to unmarried teens under 18 (or 21, if the state chooses) would be denied help for life regardless of need — a harsher punishment than that imposed on their parents.

The "Contract with America"

The "Contract with America," unveiled by Republican candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in September, contains literally dozens of radical policy proposals that would have disastrous and unfair effects on millions of America's children and families. While the American people voted for change in November 1994, we do not believe they voted to make millions of children destitute, hungry, homeless, and "orphans."

House Republicans have pledged to schedule votes on the 10 bills that make up the Contract with America within the first 100 days of the new Congress that convened on January 4. The 10 bills, carrying misleadingly appealing titles that mask their potentially devastating consequences for children, include:

- **The Fiscal Responsibility Act:** An amendment would be added to the U.S. Constitution requiring a balanced federal budget, and the President would be given new "line-item veto" authority to eliminate specific appropriations or targeted tax provisions without vetoing the entire bill in which they're contained.

- **The Taking Back Our Streets Act:** Criminal penalties would be stiffened and the crime prevention initiatives in the recently enacted 1994 crime bill would be repealed, with resulting savings used to build more costly prisons and hire more police.

- **The Personal Responsibility Act:** The current Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program would be revised and cut dramatically through a combination of new time limits on welfare benefits, work requirements, and other eligibility restrictions that would end assistance to an estimated 5 million to 6 million poor children – up to two-thirds of all children currently receiving help through AFDC.

- **The Family Reinforcement Act:** A broad range of largely unrelated policies affecting families – including tougher child support enforcement, tax incentives for adoption, new parental consent requirements for many federally funded surveys involving children, stronger child pornography laws, and expansion of the elderly dependent care tax credit – would be put into federal law.

- **The American Dream Restoration Act:** A $500 per child tax credit would help middle- and upper-income families with children, the so-called "marriage penalty" in the federal income tax code would be repealed, and new tax-exempt savings accounts similar to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) would be established for retirement savings, purchase of a first home, college expenses, and medical costs.

- **The National Security Restoration Act:** Defense spending would be boosted sharply, the Reagan-era effort to build a costly new missile defense system would be revived, and U.S. troops would be barred from serving under United Nations command.

- **The Senior Citizens Fairness Act:** The earnings limit on Social Security would be nearly tripled, 1993 tax increases on more affluent Social Security recipients would be rolled back, new tax breaks would be created for individuals who purchase long-term care insurance, and new loopholes allowing housing discrimination against families with children would be created by allowing more housing communities to qualify as senior citizen retirement communities under current fair housing laws.

- **The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act:** The capital gains tax that primarily helps the wealthy would be cut in half and numerous other steps would be taken to reduce taxes on business and restrict the ability of the federal government to impose new mandates or regulations on states, communities, or private companies.

- **The Common Sense Legal Reform Act:** A series of legal reforms would be enacted to limit product liability claims and attempt to discourage "frivolous" lawsuits.

- **The Citizen Legislature Act:** Term limits would be imposed on members of Congress so that U.S. Senators could serve no more than 12 years consecutively and Representatives could serve no more than six or 12 years (two different proposals for term limits on Representatives will be considered).

2. **Create hundreds of thousands — even millions — of new "orphans."** In the name of family values and balancing the budget, states would be allowed to keep a small part of the savings resulting from AFDC cuts and given the option of investing those savings in costly government-operated orphanages to protect precisely those children whose health and well-being had been threatened by these cuts.

3. **Make millions of additional children hungry** by cutting school lunches, food stamps, child care and Head Start meals, and WIC (nutritional supplements for pregnant women, infants, and children) and turning funds over to states in block grants with at least $18 billion fewer dollars over four years.

4. **Slash child investment for decades to come by amending the U.S. Constitution to require a balanced federal budget.** The balanced budget amendment would force huge reductions in government spending by the year 2002 — across-the-board cuts would have to be as deep as 30 percent if the Republicans keep their pledge to protect Social Security and Congress also refuses to reduce defense spending or raise taxes (see box, page 25). Children's programs might face even greater reductions because large, powerful, and often well-to-do adult constituencies will fight to save federal programs like Medicare, military and civil service pensions, medical research, and subsidies to business and industry.

5. **Repeal at least $4 billion in crucial after-school, school-based, and summer violence prevention initiatives** included in the 1994 crime bill and add it to the $18.5 billion already allocated for more police and prisons.

6. **Increase child poverty and decrease our nation's productivity dramatically.** Study after study has shown that when children are poor, they suffer worse nutrition and health status, have more stressed parents, higher rates of school failure, weaker basic academic skills, and are less productive as adults. Each year that the nation tolerates 1992 child poverty levels costs at least $36 billion and perhaps as much as $177 billion in future productivity losses.

7. **Further bankrupt the federal government through sweeping new tax giveaways to the wealthy.** Large capital gains tax cuts and more generous rules for tax-exempt savings accounts similar to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) alone would cost tens, even hundreds, of billions of dollars when fully in effect. An estimated 70 percent of capital gains tax cuts and nearly one-third of the new IRA tax breaks would help those making more than $100,000 a year.

8. **Accelerate the trend of helping the well-to-do elderly at the expense of poor and near-poor children.** A host of new tax breaks and changes in the treatment of earnings in Social Security would exclusively or disproportionately benefit better-off older workers and retirees while federal investment to help children would be sharply curtailed.

9. **Eliminate virtually all services and aid to *legal* immigrants.** Even parents who have worked and paid taxes for years would be barred from receiving help for their children in times of need through AFDC, food stamps, school lunch, social services, foster care and adoption assistance, and a host of other federal programs.

10. **Mock family values by permitting increased housing discrimination against families with children.** Apartment building and residential communities in which most tenants are older than 55 would be automatically exempt from current anti-discrimination laws, a change that would allow many landlords to turn away or evict families with children and likely would lead to rent increases

The Contract with America's Devastating Effects on Children

One piece of the Republicans' Contract with America calls for a balanced budget amendment, which would cut federal spending (except Social Security and defense) by an estimated 30 percent. If these cuts were made by cutting program enrollments:

- 6.6 million children would lose health care coverage through Medicaid.
- 222,000 preschool-age children would lose the chance to participate in Head Start.
- 7.6 million children would lose federally subsidized school lunches.
- 4.3 million children would lose food stamps.
- 2 million young children and pregnant women would lose nutritional assistance through WIC.
- 629,000 children in child care and Head Start programs would lose subsidized meals provided through the Child and Adult Care Food Program.
- 231,000 blind and disabled children would no longer receive basic income supports through the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program.
- At least 209,000 children would lose federal child care assistance.
- 5.1 million child support cases to enforce the duty of absent parents to financially support their children would be dropped.

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for young families that are forced to compete for fewer available rental units.

11. **Leave a $4.3 trillion debt on our children and deny them the basic investments** they need to grow up, get educated, and work to pay it off, while leaving untouched the booty in the pockets of those who robbed the nation's purse and mortgaged our children's future.

12. **Put the American people on record as not caring about children.** While voters in 1994 called for change and a more effective and accountable government, we do not believe they voted to make millions of children suffer or to balance the budget on the backs of the poor.

Before our leaders vote to dismantle 50 years of federal protection for children and to balance the budget on the backs of the weak and young, we urge them to review the prophets and the Gospel and America's covenant with all its people.

Black Children Harmed More

In virtually all areas of the "Contract with America," children, and Black children especially, would suffer the greatest losses if it becomes law. For example, children constitute 67 percent of all AFDC recipients. While Black children constitute only 15 percent of the total child population, they represent 38.5 percent of all children receiving AFDC. Black children are particularly likely to live in families that would lose eligibility for welfare benefits under the Contract, either because they are born to teen parents, paternity has not been established, or their parents have received welfare for more extended periods. At least 2 million Black children — and perhaps many more — would lose welfare assistance if these proposed changes succeed.

Black children also would suffer disproportionately from proposed cuts in federal nutrition programs. Almost 40 percent of all food stamp participants are Black, and 54 percent of all Black food stamp participants are children. The proposed block grant and related spending cap for nutrition programs would cause more than 1.5 million Black children either to lose assistance altogether or face reductions in already inadequate food assistance.

Finally, the balanced budget amendment included in the Contract would impose disproportionate sacrifices upon Black children and their families in a host of areas. To balance the federal budget by 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimates that all other federal expenditures would have to be reduced by at least 30 percent. Head Start, which in 1993 served only 40 percent of all eligible Black three- and four-year-olds, would lose nearly $1 billion and could end up serving 79,950 fewer Black

children. The medical safety net for Black children would be similarly threatened. Nearly half of all Black children — 46.2 percent — received health coverage through Medicaid in 1992. If cut by 30 percent, an additional 1.5 million Black children could go uninsured.

The list of possible ways in which the Contract would hurt Black children disproportionately could go on and on, including cuts in Title I education funds to poor communities, summer feeding programs that reach large numbers of minority children, job training and summer jobs for disadvantaged youths, and after-school programs that seek to prevent crime and violence in impoverished neighborhoods. The greater poverty among Black children leaves them vulnerable and exposed on the frontlines in the upcoming battle over our national investment priorities.

Cutting Children = Moral, Social, and Economic Suicide

A people and a nation that destroys, neglects, and refuses to invest in and protect millions of children — our seed corn for the future — is committing economic, social, and moral suicide. A nation that would rather spend $15,586 a year to imprison a youth than to invest $600 to

The Costs of Action and Inaction

Cutting Prevention Programs for Children Costs Taxpayers Dearly

- Each dollar spent to immunize children saves between $6 and $30 dollars in later medical and social costs.
- Each federal dollar invested in WIC (the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children) returns an estimated $3.50 over the first 18 years of the child's life to federal, state, and local governments, and to taxpayers in medical costs, Supplemental Security Income payments, and special education costs.
- Preventing very-low-birthweight saves $37,504 in the extra costs of hospital and doctor care for each baby who would have been born below 3.4 pounds.
- It costs $4,434 to maintain a child in Head Start for a year; it costs $10,205 in direct student charges to maintain a youth at a public college; it costs $15,586 to maintain a youth in state prison, and six states spend more than $20,000 per inmate per year; it costs $26,514 to send a child to Harvard.
- Cash benefits to support an AFDC child at home average $6 a day, and it typically costs $100 a day to support a child in an orphanage.
- It would cost about $4,300 a year to lift an average poor child out of poverty by giving parents jobs, wage supplements, child care, and other supports; it will cost the economy between $3,600 and $13,200 per child in lost productivity for every year we continue to ignore children's poverty and the lack of jobs for parents.

Orphanages Are Not the Solution

Orphanages for large numbers of healthy children represent a failed policy of the past.

- There are few if any large-scale orphanages today because it is recognized that children who lose or must be separated from their parents can be better cared for in more family-like settings and can be seriously harmed if placed in inappropriate institutions. Today's smaller residential programs generally provide specialized treatment to children whose serious needs cannot be met at home or in other settings.
- AFDC and other public assistance programs were created 60 years ago in part to prevent destitute mothers from having to place their children in orphanages.
- Government cannot effectively raise children and should not be looked to as a substitute for parents. Children grow best in families.

A return to orphanages for children of poor parents would represent a radical departure from current state policies, overwhelming child welfare agencies and failing to reserve out-of-home care for children who truly need such services.

- State laws often bar child welfare agencies from placing children in out-of-home care solely because their parents are poor. Many require that families receive help to keep children safe and prevent unnecessary family break-up.
- Child welfare agencies already are struggling to care for almost half a million abused and neglected children. A large influx of children endangered due to loss of AFDC benefits would overwhelm the child welfare system.
- Rather than creating new orphanages, any investments to protect children should seek to strengthen families, support the efforts of parents to care for their children, and provide quality out-of-home care for abused and neglected children who need such services.

Orphanages would be extraordinarily expensive, costing far more than welfare and other necessary supports to help parents care for their children at home.

- If the welfare provisions of the Republican "Contract with America" were fully in effect today, more than 5 million children would lose welfare (AFDC). Even if only one in four of them was placed in an orphanage, the cost would total a staggering $45 billion.
- The $3,000 a month typically required to maintain one child in an orphanage is at least five times – and perhaps as much as 30 times – more than the maximum monthly AFDC payment now paid by states for a mother and child (ranging from $96 a month in Mississippi to $576 a month in New York).

give him a Healthy Start with prenatal care, $4,340 to provide a quality Head Start or child care experience to get him ready for school, and $1,400 to provide a summer job to instill work experience and a work ethic, lacks common sense, economic sense, and moral decency.

Political leaders who advocate placing poor children in government-operated orphanages at a typical cost of $36,500 a year while simultaneously denying millions of children an average current welfare benefit of $135 a month per child, or $1,620 a year to remain with their mothers at home, value neither families nor taxpayers' money and ignore the lessons of history (see box, page 28). Not many people would be willing to foot the bill to send somebody else's child to Harvard for $26,230 a year. Why should we send someone else's child to prison or an orphanage with a history of failure at far greater costs before providing all children a chance early in life to succeed?

We must challenge those who claim that front-end investments in Head Start and child care and immunizations and prenatal care and summer jobs don't work, and demand they prove that higher back-end prison costs, out-of-home care, unemployment, and ignorance do. We are now the world's leading jailer. Yet fear permeates our psyches and guns and violence proliferate in our homes and on our streets. The child neglect tax of prisons, police, unemployment, and school failure costs tens of billions of dollars a year. Every individual American pays over $100 in taxes every year to incarcerate over 1 million inmates — a cost that will grow if some political leaders have their way. Who gains by making millions more children poor? The children? The nation? Taxpayers? Political demagogues? The rich?

Countless American communities are waiting to explode from the sparks of angry, idle youths, marginalized and abandoned by parents, schools, and communities. Left to their own devices and viewed as problems rather than as potential, many abandoned youths will resort to undesirable and destructive alternatives when adults fail to provide them positive ones. America's future is as strong as its most educated and productive child and as weak as its least.

Protecting Children Should Be Good Bipartisan Politics

This guide calls on Republicans and Democrats, liberals, moderates, and conservatives alike to make a moral, political, and economic commitment to ensuring every American child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life and to refrain from punishing children to reform parents or singling out children's programs for emasculation as if this is the solution to balancing the federal budget.

Children's needs changed not one bit with the political landscape on November 8. And their futures should not be sacrificed on the altars of any party's political expediency or ideological agenda. Small babies who neither asked to be born nor chose their parents should not be picked on by budget-cutters of any stripe. Hungry children and idle preschoolers

Projected Cost to the Federal Deficit of Some Existing Middle-Class Tax Benefits

(1995 and for the five years 1995-1999, in billions)

	1995	1995-1999
Life insurance exclusion	$ 10.3	$ 68.8
Mortgage interest deduction	53.5	302.1
Property tax deduction	13.7	76.8
Deferral of gains on home sales	14.8	79.4
Exclusion of gains on home, 55 years+	4.9	26.5
Cap on capital gains tax rate	9.1	57.4
Exclusion of inherited gains	12.7	77.5
Exclusion of health insurance	45.8	269.7
Deduction for medical expenses	1.4	9.6
Exclusion of pension contributions	69.4	391.6
TOTALS	**$ 235.6**	**$ 1,359.4**

Over $1.3 trillion in five years going disproportionately to families and individuals who are not poor, or in danger of poverty, is generous. These benefits to the non-poor cost far more than the annual deficit, under any projection.

National Comparison Shopping

The administration plans to spend $17.6 billion over the next five years, $2.3 billion a year, on ballistic missile defense, the remaining component of President Reagan's discredited Star Wars program. The new Republican leadership in Congress has called for restoring all Star Wars projects, at the very least doubling federal expenditure in the next five years.

The administration plans to spend $10.4 billion over the next five years, $2.1 billion a year, on the space station where our astronauts can visit with Russian cosmonauts. We already have spent over $9 billion on this project; when it finally flies in 2001, we will have spent an additional $15 billion or more on this lofty junket.

The military will subsidize its commissaries (the "PX") at a cost of $5 billion over the next five years, $1 billion a year. While commissaries originally (in 1866) were meant to provide food for troops stationed in remote forts in the West, they now are open to nearly anyone who has a relative in the military and wants to buy tax-free goods at discount prices. Perhaps the hungry children could at least be invited to watch the generals shop?

The administration plans to keep 100,000 troops stationed in Europe and nearly the same number stationed in Japan and Korea. In FY 1993 here is what we paid for the pleasure of defending countries whose children are less poor than our own:

Canada	$1.2 billion
England	$1.3 billion
Germany	$5.2 billion
Japan	$2.3 billion

(Japan's child poverty rate is unknown, but is widely considered to be lower than that of the U.S.)

who need help to begin school ready to learn need child nutrition programs and quality early childhood programs in whatever state they chance to live in and should not be told they are free to compete in 50 states against powerful special interest groups for their school lunches and Head Start programs from a shrinking funding pie. Beleaguered children trying to learn in inner-city schools ravaged by violence and poverty and to do homework in rat-, noise-, and violence-infested housing projects and who need safe havens from the street and disorganized family lives did not vote in the last election. And they should not be taught another bad lesson in American civics — that their God-given and American birthright to live, learn, and be healthy and safe depends on whether Republican, Democrat, liberal, moderate, or conservative politicians are in office.

As we face the 104th Congress, we call for a political moratorium on child-bashing and program-slashing and for a political commitment to placing children's needs above the political fray. America's future is at stake. If politically powerful Social Security and defense programs are off the budget-cutting table, don't children (whose social security never has been protected and health care never assured, and who lack defense against the treacherous internal enemies of disease, poverty, and violence) deserve equal treatment?

No external enemy in our history ever has taken 50,000 American child lives. Yet that is how many children of all races died from guns in our homefront war since 1979 thanks to the mindless and foolish

WHO GETS THE MOST MONEY FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT?

Families with incomes under $20,000 a year (37.6% of all tax returns)	Families with incomes over $100,000 a year (5.2% of all tax returns)
Percent of medical expense deductions	
2.0%	20.0% ($767 million, worth $3,036 to each family in that group who claimed it)
Percent of real estate tax deduction	
0.3%	43.0% ($5.6 billion, worth $1,020 to each family in that group who claimed it)
Percent of mortgage interest deduction	
0.4%	44.0% ($22.6 billion, worth $4,484 to each family in that group who claimed it)

proliferation of non-sporting firearms whose protection we place ahead of the protection of our children.

As some political leaders call for balancing the federal budget by 2002 — many of whom previously voted for the huge Reagan-era tax breaks for the rich and unprecedented peacetime Pentagon build-up that mortgaged our children's futures and created the current deficit they so lately decry — all fair citizens must insist that they do so on the backs of the strong who benefitted disproportionately and not on the backs of the young and the poor who suffered disproportionately. Accountability and fair sacrifice across the board must be the bottom line. Rather than seeking to deny poor babies an average daily welfare payment of $4.44, they should be seeking to deny rich farmers their share of the $8 billion in crop subsidies that give some family corporate empires $1,000 a day. And they should try to cut the $14 billion a year in forgiven taxes on inherited capital gains. And they should try to cut the $10 billion in entitlement benefits that go to families with income over $100,000 a year that average over $15,000 a year, or $41 a day.

We must reject claims that our nation cannot afford the $9 billion to give every eligible child a Head Start to learn before school and ask instead whether we can afford to give NASA and the military $10 billion to learn in space. Millions of poor children should not be asked to lose their school lunches and food stamps; privileged corporate executives should be asked to give up their business lunches and golf outings and sports tickets at taxpayers' expense. We should stop alleging that creating jobs and better wages for low- and middle-income people who want to work is too expensive, and recognize that creating new capital gains tax breaks to the tune of $12 billion a year for rich people who can afford not to work is too expensive. We must inform ourselves and others about the impact of the proposed "Contract with America" on all children, and especially Black children, and then fight to protect our children's lives and well-being.

Neither Republicans nor Democrats Are a Monolith: Reach Out to All

The range of views held by Republicans within and outside of Congress is far more diverse than what is reflected in the Contract. And we should make a concerted effort to communicate with them all. A few of the ideas outlined in the Contract — tougher child support enforcement, incentives for adoption, targeted tax relief for families with children — would be sensible if properly designed. Many others are extremely misguided and have yet to be examined in detail. It is likely that at least some pieces of the Contract will be dropped at the outset or discarded by Republicans in the Senate after more thorough consideration. We hope so.

Nonetheless, unless large parts of it are rejected or changed, the Contract will throw away much of America's future. Already inadequate federal investments in children would be slashed deeply, with cuts rivaling or exceeding those proposed during the Reagan years. The basic "safety

net" for children and families with no other means of support would be shredded. The inequitable distribution of income and wealth in America would be made much worse by huge shifts in resources away from poor children and toward more well-to-do adults and the well-off elderly. And scarce resources would be squandered on an unnecessary defense build-up at the expense of pressing child needs.

Use Rather Than Fear Change

Change is inevitable if we are to grow and stay alive. It is healthy to periodically examine what is working, not working, and why; what roles federal, state, and local governments best play in ensuring the healthy development of all citizens; how the private sector and community groups can participate in new partnerships for strengthening communities and families; what programs — social, defense, and subsidies for the rich, middle class, and poor alike — could be improved, consolidated, eliminated, or expanded. But it is not healthy — indeed dangerous — to risk destroying in 100 days or a year or two the foundation of child investments built painstakingly and incrementally over decades. It is therefore crucial that we force our political leaders and ourselves to engage in a responsible and not reckless process, and to define goals, the outcomes they seek to foster, and provide solid evidence that the proposed strategies will accomplish them. Clear criteria should be applied consistently in making decisions that can affect the life and death and health and hope of millions of American children forever (see page 16). And the bottom line should be whether it helps or hurts children.

Child advocates should seize the last election's opportunity to visit and educate every member of Congress, every governor, and every member of every state legislature about the needs of children. Find out what they really know about Head Start, WIC, and family preservation. Ask if they have ever visited a Head Start or WIC center and encourage them to do so, before they act in drastic ways, in order to understand how their decisions will affect real lives, real children, and real families in their own communities. All of us should be running programs that we would be proud to have anyone visit at any time. And all must be willing to work with anybody of any party who is committed to helping our children, and to fight anybody who is not.

Let us seize the 1994 election changes as an opportunity to build and strengthen our political muscle, rebuild our community infrastructures, clarify our action priorities and message, educate ourselves and others about the health and other survival needs of our children, demonstrate the effectiveness of child investments, and reach out to and build new allies on all sides of the political and ideological aisle.

Children's healthy, safe development must be the only ideology.

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Myths that Cloak Injustice

Chapter 3

In a democratic society, it is crucial that citizens inform themselves and base their decisions on truth and common sense. This is very hard in our overloaded, over-saturated media era when so many messages bombard us. Although it is hard to know whom to trust or what to believe, citizens must make the effort to look behind political slogans and promises circulating around Washington, DC, in our states, and in the media. They often are based on myths and capitalize on our worst fears and on assumptions or half-truths, but little evidence.

Our nation faces serious social problems we must but cannot cure unless they are correctly diagnosed. Citizens must hold political leaders and the media accountable for the truth and not let them get away with lazy, simplistic labels, stereotypes, and unsupported assumptions that have contributed significantly to a large part of the problem our nation faces today. We also must resist the temptation to wallow in problems and work hard to identify and build on promising approaches and positive programs. Good news is as important as bad news in building a sense of hope and efficacy in our democracy.

Finally, we must be willing to admit mistakes, to assess what has worked and not worked, and to lead rather than resist change.

1. **Myth:** Most poor people are on welfare, and most people who get welfare and other government help are adults.

   Reality: When people speak of "welfare," they usually mean Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Only 42 percent of poor people in America receive AFDC. Only 19 percent of the poor get federal housing assistance, and only 52 percent get food stamps. Two out of three AFDC recipients (67 percent) are children. Fifty-one percent of food stamp recipients (14 million) are children.

2. **Myth:** Welfare payments have been increasing. We could cut the deficit significantly by cutting AFDC and other aid programs without hurting children.

   Reality: For the past 20 years, we **have** been cutting AFDC. AFDC has declined from 1.5 percent of the federal budget in 1979 to 1.1 percent in 1992. Social Security, by contrast, constitutes about 25 percent of the federal budget. The value of AFDC benefits declined by 47 percent since 1970, and the real value of AFDC benefits has declined between 13 percent and 67 percent in every state because, unlike Social Security, payments to mothers and children are not raised automatically to keep pace with inflation. In a typical

state, a mother and two children getting AFDC and food stamps now receive, at most, $661 a month (two-thirds of the poverty line). That amounts to $7.24 a day per person, which must cover rent, food, clothing, utilities, diapers, and everything else.

While the value of AFDC fell, poverty overall increased (more U.S. children are poor today than at any time in the past 29 years), as did the intensity of poverty. In 1993, 6.5 million children lived below half the federal poverty level (below $6,000 for a family of three), up from 3.4 million in 1979. When children live in poverty, their risk of undernourishment, developmental problems, chronic illness, accidents, and death increases significantly. The more intense and prolonged the poverty, the more the child suffers.

Wholesale cuts in AFDC not only will fail to balance the budget but will likely lead to increased expenditures. For children placed in orphanages, monthly expenses would be about $3,000 a child — $6,000 for two children — compared with the $661 a month a mother and two children currently gets from AFDC and food stamps.

3. **Myth:** Most poor people do not work.

Reality: Three out of five poor children live with at least one parent who works. The vast majority of poor Americans (four out of five) are children, the elderly, the ill or disabled, or already are working full- or part-time at below-poverty wages. A minimum wage job at $4.25 per hour pays only 72 percent of the poverty line for a family of three. The minimum wage has lost 30 percent of its value to inflation since 1978.

4. **Myth:** There are plenty of jobs for welfare recipients to take.

Reality: More than 7 million Americans from all walks of life were out of work and actively looking for jobs in November 1994. Another 4.8 million either were working part time because they could not find full-time jobs or had grown too discouraged to continue searching. This widespread joblessness is a direct result of national economic policies that have pushed interest rates higher in an attempt to slow down economic growth and contain inflation.

When the economy is growing, it does produce new jobs each year (there was a net gain of 1.7 million civilian jobs from 1992 to 1993). In every community, some jobs also open up as employers' needs change or workers move on.

Yet in all but the most fortunate communities, the number of new jobs and vacancies is much smaller than the number of people in need of work. As in the children's game of "musical chairs," there simply are not enough seats for everyone. Those with the weakest skills and greatest barriers to employment (including many parents receiving welfare) are most likely to be out of luck, regardless of how hard they try to find employment.

The unemployment problem is most severe in poor inner-city neighborhoods and depressed rural areas. For example, a Milwaukee study found that there were eight unemployed workers for every job opening in the city's poorest neighborhoods — a number nearly six times greater than in the rest of the metropolitan area. Of course, welfare recipients reside disproportionately in poor neighborhoods and areas where jobs are scarcest.

5. **Myth:** Most government assistance goes to poor mothers and their children.

Reality: Most government cash assistance goes to non-poor and childless Americans, including the elderly and disabled (see boxes in Chapter 2). The three major federal cash assistance programs are Social Security, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and AFDC, which in 1993 cost $329.6 billion. Of that, about $29 billion, or 8.9 percent of the total, was spent on children.

Middle- and high-income Americans also receive enormous tax breaks. In 1994 the federal mortgage interest deduction alone was worth more than $50 billion, of which nearly 90 percent went to those making over $50,000. Medicaid covers health care for poor children, the elderly, and people with disabilities. AFDC families with children account for 71 percent of Medicaid recipients but only 30 percent of Medicaid expenditures.

6. **Myth:** People have babies just to get on welfare and have more children than the rest of us. Because of welfare, women are having babies but not getting married.

Reality: Women on AFDC have lower childbearing rates than others. A Wisconsin study found the birth rate among women on welfare to be 45.8 per 1,000; for women overall, the rate was 75.3 per 1,000. Families receiving AFDC have an average of two children — about the same as the rest of the population.

Studies show that higher welfare benefits are not a major cause of rising out-of-wedlock births. In fact, lower benefits frequently are associated with higher birth rates. In 1990 the state with the lowest AFDC benefits (Mississippi) had the greatest proportion of out-of-wedlock births (40 percent).

7. **Myth:** Most poor children and teen mothers are Black.

Reality: Far more White than Black children are poor because there are far more White than Black children. While Black children are disproportionately poor, 9.8 million of the 15.7 million poor children are White.

Similarly, most teen births every year are to White girls. In 1992, there were 348,106 births to White girls under 20, and 153,248 births to Black girls under 20. However, Black girls (who are disproportionately poor) are disproportionately likely to become teen parents. In 1992 the poverty rate for Blacks was approximately three times that of Whites, while the teen birth rate for Blacks was a little over two times that of Whites. For Black women overall the birth rate per 1,000 was 16 percent lower in 1992 than it was in 1970. For Black teens the rate was 20 percent lower in 1992 than in 1970.

8. **Myth:** Orphanages are a desirable solution for raising children.

Reality: Children grow best in families. When children are at risk of abuse or neglect and cannot remain safely with their parents, they must be placed in foster care or smaller residential programs appropriate to their needs. But the vast majority of parents receiving AFDC are able to care for their children under very difficult circumstances. Only 2.4 percent of AFDC children were in foster care in 1993.

Even if orphanages were desirable, they would be extraordinarily expensive, costing an average of $100 a day. The welfare plan contained in the Republican "Contract with America" would give states the resources to fund fewer than 9,000 placements in orphanages or other residential care for children whose families no longer could support them. In contrast, an estimated 5 million children would be denied benefits under the "Contract with America" plan.

9. **Myth:** No government social programs work.

Reality: There are government social programs that work, and some that don't — just as there are some defense and

private sector programs that work and some that don't. It is very important, therefore, not to deal in generalities or let people attack all social or government programs.

Quality early childhood programs like Head Start work. They save $7.16 for every dollar invested by reducing later costs of welfare dependency, crime, and lower worker productivity. Vaccines for children work. They save children's lives, prevent serious childhood illnesses, and save between $6 and $30 for every dollar invested. Our nation cannot afford to have only 67 percent of two-year-olds vaccinated. Efforts by some drug companies to repeal or weaken the federal Vaccines for Children program must be opposed.

10. Myth: High child poverty rates are inevitable.

Reality: Our extraordinarily high child poverty rates are neither inevitable nor some unavoidable attribute of modern, urbanized societies that we cannot change. And they certainly are not acts of God. They are highly unusual and represent the unconscionable choices our nation has made and the misguided priorities we have set. Other industrialized nations with similar or fewer resources and similar economic and social problems have placed a higher priority on protecting and investing in their children. **American children are twice as likely to be poor as Canadian children, three times as likely to be poor as British children, four times as likely to be poor as French children, and seven to 13 times more likely to be poor than German, Dutch, and Swedish children. It is ironic that a nation that mouths family values does so much less than its industrialized peers to protect families against poverty and its consequences.**

11. Myth: You can expect fair sacrifice from cuts in programs for the rich and for the poor.

Reality: Without a miracle or a massive movement speaking out on behalf of children and the poor, corporate and special industry subsidies, the Pentagon, the military, and national security intelligence programs will not bear their fair share of budget cuts. If Social Security for the non-poor is exempted from budget cuts, poor families and children lacking the clout of campaign contributions, powerful lobbyists, and the capacity to buy media time and space to sell their messages will suffer unfairly. (See boxes in Chapter 2.)

12. Myth: Cutting taxes is always a good thing.

Reality: Huge tax cuts to wealthy individuals and corporations during the Reagan years — $750 billion in five years — are a major cause of the enormous federal budget deficit on which we pay $580 million a day in interest. Combined with the $1.2 trillion Pentagon increase since 1980, the tax cuts contributed to quadrupling the deficit: the country accumulated three times as much federal debt in the past 15 years as we did in our first 190 years.

Many members from both parties voted in 1981 for the huge tax cuts and peace-time military build-up that has mortgaged our children's futures to the tune of trillions of dollars. Some of the loudest proponents now for a constitutional amendment to balance the budget voted then to throw the budget way out of balance.

13. Myth: Private charity can meet the needs of the poor without government help, especially if we cut taxes.

Reality: We've been through this before. Between 1982 and 1984, there were both substantial federal tax cuts and program reductions. Federal funding for various social programs carried out by the nonprofit sector (including child welfare services, job training, and child care, but not including health care) declined by $41.81 billion during that period. Private giving during these three years, even after tax cuts, offset only 7 percent of the cutbacks.

Since the Reagan cuts, private charities have had to fund more soup kitchens, heating assistance, homeless shelters, and clothing drives to make up for some of the reductions. In recent years, some private charities have fallen short of their fundraising goals. They cannot make up the $57 billion in cuts over five years that the Contract with America's welfare bill alone would create.

14. Myth: States will maintain targeted support for poor children even if there is less money and few standards in proposed block grants.

Reality: While we hope so, history does not portend well. In 1982, during the last round of federal block granting and budget cutting, most states replaced less than 10 percent of the cuts. Some states, like California, have been using federal dollars to supplant state dollars. No state lifts its poor children out of poverty. And no state has a passing grade on key child indicators. No state has met the U.S. Surgeon General's 1990 goals for Black babies on infant mortality, prenatal

care, or low-birthweight births. We applaud governors like North Carolina's Hunt and Ohio's Voinovich, who are using state dollars to expand successful early childhood programs like Head Start. And we will be looking to see what other governors in fact do. But history tells us that most states simply will pass on cuts and shift money away from the poor.

15. Myth: The "Far Right" hates government.

Reality: Some conservatives have consistently anti-government attitudes, but many do not. Many in the "Right Wing" hate government benefits for the poor but favor government benefits for the rich and government subsidies for special corporate interests. They call for smaller investments in child and youth programs to prevent crime, but for higher government spending on government-operated prisons. They propose massive cuts in child nutrition, health, and early childhood programs (like school lunches, Head Start, and child care), but support increases in massive government programs for the military and defense contractors. They propose to cut all welfare benefits to poor children of teen parents, but are silent about tens of billions of dollars in corporate welfare for rich farmers and other industries. They favor cutting off government benefits to children of teen parents, but support costlier government-created orphanages. They decry government intrusion in family life, but ask government to mandate prayer in schools.

16. Myth: Amending the Constitution is the way to solve or avoid difficult political decisions.

Reality: Our Constitution has been amended sparingly throughout our history — only 16 times since the Bill of Rights amendments were added in 1791. Currently numerous constitutional amendments are proposed, including ones to balance the budget, to limit the terms of members of Congress, and to mandate school prayer. Do we really think the Constitution should reflect the changing political winds rather than the bedrock principles upon which our nation rests? We do not need amendments that tie voters' hands or force the Constitution to do what those who would amend it lack the courage to do and what voters elected them to do: make tough decisions.

17. Myth: The American people voted to support all the provisions of the "Contract with America."

Reality: In fact, in a *New York Times*/CBS News poll conducted December 6-9, 1994, 72 percent said they had never heard

anything about the Contract. Similarly, two weeks before the election an NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll showed that only 28 percent had even heard of the Contract; only 10 percent said they knew a great deal about it. There is no evidence that the American people voted to make millions more children destitute, hungry, homeless, and poor, to tinker recklessly with the Constitution, or to rashly dismantle 50 years of social policy.

18. Myth: Poor people end up in prison or on welfare today because they have bad characters, unlike the poor of earlier generations who often were immigrants working themselves into the mainstream of American life.

Reality: Most poor Americans today end up neither in prison nor on welfare. Like prior generations, they struggle to enter the mainstream of American life and move with surprising frequency out of poverty when they are able to find work. But the labor market also has changed dramatically since the times when vast numbers of unskilled workers left their homes in Europe to seek new lives here. Today it is far more difficult for those without advanced education or training to secure the kind of stable jobs at decent wages that provide a foothold in America's growing economy. Among male workers with a high school diploma but no college, for example, hourly entry-level wages (adjusted for inflation) plunged by 30 percent between 1973 and 1993.

19. Myth: White men have been losing ground because Blacks and women have been gaining ground.

Reality: Black men have lost more ground than White men over the past 20 years in employment and income. The income of Black men with only high school diplomas has declined more than that of White men with the same education. Black men with college degrees are less likely to be employed than White men with high school diplomas. And women still earn only three-quarters of a man's earnings. The earning gap between Black and White women closed between the mid-1960s and 1970s, but has been increasing steadily since 1977. The poor and middle class have lost ground not because minority groups or women have gained, but because of the redistribution of wealth to the wealthiest Americans.

20. Myth: It is in the national interest to cut programs for children and poor families and to increase Pentagon spending.

Reality: No external enemy ever killed 50,000 American children by guns — the number of children we lost to guns between 1979 and 1991. Every year over 5,000 children are killed by guns and many more are injured. New Star Wars missile defenses won't keep children safe to and from and in school or in their neighborhoods. How are we to explain to our children that we placed a higher priority on protecting them against phantom external enemies while ignoring the real enemies of violence and poverty that are sapping their lives and spirits?

Five Programs Making a Difference for Children

Chapter 4

Many wonderful individuals and organizations are effectively reaching out to children and youths all over the nation. We chose here just five examples of what can be done in rural areas and inner cities alike.

CDF-Marlboro County
117 Cheraw Street
Bennettsville, SC 29512
803-479-5310

Marian David, Director
Olive Covington, Director, 1992-1994

Embodying the African proverb "it takes a whole village to raise a child," the goal in Marlboro County is to have the entire 30,000-person county supporting all of its children's school readiness, academic achievement, healthy development, and transition to adulthood. The program is driven by the belief that a nurturing family, a strong early childhood foundation, self-esteem, basic skills, and a hopeful sense of the future are critical to preventing too-early pregnancy, school dropout, drug use, and violence.

CDF-Marlboro County works with over 600 children ages five to 18. Marlboro County is 64 percent rural, with 26.6 percent of its residents living in poverty and 29.8 percent of its babies being born to teenage mothers. The Marlboro County school district has the eighth highest dropout rate in the state and one of the highest rates of students going to work right after high school graduation.

Established in 1989 (with W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Commonwealth Fund, and John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation support), the CDF-Marlboro County program is now in the second phase (thanks to the Florence and John Schumann Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation) of a long-term commitment to prevent teen pregnancy and foster healthy youth development.

Adventures in Excellence, a summer and after-school program for 150 middle school children, and the Primary Enrichment Program (PEP), a summer and after-school program for 125 elementary school students, began in 1992. Both programs stress language arts, science, and math. Writing and reading are integrated in all activities, both during the summer and during the twice-weekly after-school sessions. Fifteen graduating high school seniors (all Black males) serve as teacher assistants in the after-school tutorial program.

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Parents of children involved in the Adventures in Excellence Program or the Primary Enrichment Program must agree to attend parent seminars (or send a family representative) and family gatherings throughout the year. Virtually all parents participate or send a representative.

In 1992 CDF-Marlboro County expanded its Food, Learning, and Fun summer enrichment program through the Summer Food Service Program. Twenty college students (mostly from Marlboro County) were hired for recreational activities with the children who came to three federal feeding sites for lunch. Once word of the activities spread, children of all ages began to stream in. The college students decided to extend the program's hours and to add a reading and math curriculum. By the summer of 1993, 320 children ages five to 18 had enrolled, the school district added breakfast to the feeding program, and science activities, photography, drama, music, and public speaking were added to the curriculum.

Twenty Marlboro County public school teachers also have been involved in the three programs, which reach about 660 children.

All teachers and college students take part in an intensive two-week training session before the summer program begins. Leadership development, team building, and curriculum development are undergirded by a sense of mission for children and the belief that all children can learn. Training concludes with a ceremony celebrating the counselors' dedication to community service.

Another component of CDF-Marlboro County, the Church Ministries Program, provides planning, informational materials, and technical assistance to children and youth coordinators to strengthen their ministry to children. The Church Ministries Program also coordinates Children's Sabbath observances in the county and in selected areas of the state.

CDF-Marlboro County receives support for its $300,000 annual budget from foundations and corporate sponsors, as well as from organizations like Reading Is Fundamental. It has a student-run bookstore stocked with a wide array of books for children, young adults, parents, and teachers. Reading is gaining in popularity, thanks to the annual book fair in this county without a bookstore.

Dr. Edmund Gordon, Professor Emeritus at Yale and now a professor at City University of New York City College, is working with the program leaders to develop an ongoing evaluation. CDF-Marlboro County places high value on documenting its progress so that others can learn from efforts to mobilize an entire community behind its children.

Already the Food, Learning, and Fun summer component has served as a model for 18 additional Freedom Schools during the summers of 1993 and 1994. These Freedom Schools, a project of the Black Community Crusade for Children's Black Student Leadership Network, are staffed by more than 200 college students in sites around the country.

For Olive Covington and Marian David of the CDF-Marlboro County office, the program has been a way to match eager children with college students who want to give something back to their community. "All children need exposure to caring mentors, enriching environments, and challenges," says Covington. The horizons of the high school and college students expand as they begin to focus on the younger children. They also experience enormous growth and a feeling of responsibility. The office has been flooded with applications from high school and college students of all races wanting to serve as counselor-teachers or teaching assistants. Not willing to turn young people away, the staff is developing an additional program to train high school sophomores and juniors for community service.

Having a caring and committed staff makes all the difference, according to David. "You can teach people the skills they need, but you can't teach them to care about these children," she says. The self-esteem and confidence of the children goes up based on how they are treated and what is expected of them. They become more articulate, more confident, and feel good about themselves.

Looking ahead, CDF-Marlboro County will expand its leadership training for high school students and develop a comprehensive rites of passage program for young men and women.

In giving advice to others working on similar programs, Covington says the needs are so great it is impossible to do everything. "Decide what piece you can really affect and then focus everything on that."

Countee Cullen Beacon Community Center
A Program of Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families — BCCC's Eastern Regional Office
242 West 144th St.
New York, NY 10030
212-234-4500

Shawn Dove and Joseph Stewart, Co-Directors
Geoffrey Canada, President/CEO of Rheedlen Centers

Countee Cullen Community Center, one of 37 Beacon centers in New York City, operates at least 12 hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year. Located in P.S. 194 in Central Harlem — one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city — Countee Cullen provides about 300 five- to 19-year-olds each day with academic, cultural, social, and spiritual enrichment.

On any given afternoon or evening, the center is bustling with many different activities: homework tutoring, drama club, video and writing workshops, job readiness training, dance, organized sports, and parent workshops and support groups. There is an after-school program, an evening teen program, a summer youth employment program, basketball and baseball leagues, leadership training by groups like the Manhattan

Valley Youth Program, and 12-step recovery programs for those grappling with drug and alcohol problems.

"Young people are always filled with passion and potential, and adults should help them express these in positive ways," says Geoffrey Canada, president and CEO of Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families, which runs Countee Cullen. This year, much of the energy of participating children has been focused on creatively addressing the plague of violence that surrounds them. The teen program produced an anti-violence video, the after-school program ran a Night of Safety for the neighborhood, and children staged a Stop the Violence talent show.

Countee Cullen has turned its public elementary school into a haven not only for the children attending P.S. 194, but for all young people in the neighborhood. The Youth Council, made up of junior and senior high school students, meets every Friday evening to discuss and find ways to confront the problems of local youths. For three summers now, the Youth Council created a "Play Street" in front of the school as part of a neighborhood beautification program. The teens swept the street and sidewalks each morning and convinced all block residents to move their cars so that from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. children had a safe and clean place to play.

Co-Director Shawn Dove says, "You can't work with children in a vacuum. You have to work with the whole family." So Countee Cullen is open to everyone in each child's family — parents, grandparents, and siblings. Having families doing things under one roof is central to the mission of Countee Cullen. As one P.S. 194 teacher observes, "When parents start becoming involved in the school setting, children do better." Families of children in the program can get case management, referrals, individual and family counseling, and workshops and support groups on teen development and domestic violence issues. A core group of 30 parents comes regularly to the weekly Parent Involvement Group meetings, but on any night twice that many may be attending classes and workshops at the center.

Another key to Countee Cullen's success, according to Co-Directors Stewart and Dove, is the collaborative relationship with New York City and state agencies. Countee Cullen receives core funding of $450,000 a year from the city's Department of Youth Services, as do all other Beacon centers. Additional funding comes from the state's Division for Youth (as well as from foundations such as Robin Hood, Annie Casey, and J.P. Morgan & Co.). Programmatically, Countee Cullen works with the city's Department of Employment to provide career training, internships, community service projects, and leadership training. The program also collaborates with the city Child Welfare Administration, the public school system, and the state departments of Social Services, Health, and Alcohol and Substance Abuse Services.

Dove and Stewart offer two solid pieces of advice to others who wish to partner with a school or other community institution. First, Dove says, make sure there is a shared vision from the very beginning. "Perceptions

can be different and it's important for all parties to have a sense of ownership from the beginning," he says.

Second, recruit as many staff members as possible from the community being served. It takes time for "outsiders" to build trust and allay suspicion. At Countee Cullen, 40 percent of the staff — which includes 16 full-timers and 38 part-timers, increasing to a total of 120 staff members during the summer — is from Central Harlem.

LEAP
254 College Street, Suite 501
New Haven, CT 06510
203-773-0770

Henry Fernandez, Executive Director
Matt Klein, Staff Manager
Regina Winters, Training and Curriculum Manager

Leadership, Education and Athletics in Partnership — LEAP — is an educational and social development program in New Haven, Hartford, and New London, Connecticut that serves seven- to 14-year-olds living in impoverished inner cities. The program works to enhance children's sense of self-worth and strengthen reading, writing, computer, and other academic skills and to provide an outlet for creativity.

Two elements make LEAP unique. First, the program works with the same children, year-round and year after year. LEAP's children attend an eight-week summer session as well as the after-school program that operates from October through June. Second, during the summer each "senior counselor" lives in the same neighborhood or housing project as the small group of children he or she serves. They share the conditions the children face every day, meet with parents in the children's homes each week, and organize neighborhood events.

The same children who took part in LEAP when the program began two years ago are faithfully coming back and bringing their friends, which testifies that LEAP is reaching its children. In the first year, the program grew from 200 to 400 students. Now LEAP serves more than 700 children in seven sites. Each site has a coordinator who oversees logistics, a social worker from the Yale Child Study Center Outpatient Clinic who helps counselors address children's needs, and a teacher who serves as an educational mentor.

LEAP children are placed in same-sex groups of eight or nine children. Each group is led by a senior counselor, who is a college student, and a junior counselor, who is a local public high school student. Like the children they serve, counselors are primarily African American and Latino.

During the summer session, the children spend eight hours a day in a donated classroom where their counselors help them with reading exercises,

science experiments, journal writing, hygiene, and athletics. The children take daily field trips in the city and around Connecticut, two overnight camping trips, and a week-long trip to a city (such as Washington, DC or Boston) that is at least 100 miles from home. They also work on a community service project. Lunch is provided, funded for five weeks by the federal Summer Food Service Program and during the rest of the session by LEAP funds.

Each senior counselor develops his or her own curriculum, but a model curriculum is available to them. LEAP devotes two weeks at the beginning of the summer to train senior and junior counselors and conducts five additional weekend and full-day training sessions during the year. Training covers educational methods, social development theory, community organizing skills, problem-solving, first aid, and practical skills such as how to pitch a tent. More than 40 experts in education, development, service, leadership, and classroom management are involved in the training sessions, including staff from the Southern Coalition for Educational Equity and the Algebra Project.

During the school year, counselors meet at least twice a week with their groups of children for homework tutoring, additional reading and writing work, and local trips and activities. The counselors also meet regularly with children's parents and teachers.

LEAP's $2.5 million annual budget is supported by 15 foundations, 42 corporations and businesses, more than 200 individuals, and the Governor's Youth Initiative Program. LEAP also receives in-kind support, such as donations of furniture and equipment, from more than 85 organizations. In September 1994, LEAP was awarded a three-year, $1.3 million AmeriCorps grant.

Although the program does not yet have concrete data showing its results, an ongoing, comprehensive evaluation (which will be headed by Edward Zigler, director of the Bush Center for Child Policy and a founder of Head Start) is under way to measure effects on academic performance, self-esteem, and parent involvement.

City Lights School
62 T Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-832-4366

Ron Pettiway, Executive Director and former Program Director
Judith Tolmach Silber, Founder and first Executive Director, 1982-1986

City Lights is an alternative school in the District of Columbia that educates and treats high-risk, emotionally disturbed, and delinquent youths by providing a range of academic, clinical, vocational, and recreational services. The school was founded in 1982 under the auspices of the Children's Defense Fund, but is now an independent nonprofit with its own

board. At that time, the city was under a court order to increase the number of community-based services for mentally and physically disabled young people. The court found that at a cost of $7 million a year, youths were being inappropriately confined to restrictive settings, far away from their homes and families.

The city was ordered to evaluate the specific needs of children diagnosed with emotional and behavioral disabilities who were wards of the District, immediately move them into less restrictive settings, and develop locally based services and resources. In an effort to help develop community-based programs, CDF asked Judith Tolmach Silber to establish a psychoeducational day treatment center for adolescents in the District.

In the 12 years since, City Lights has served 1,500 young people. Of the 150 students ages 12 to 22 currently enrolled, 98 percent are African American and 70 percent are male. Students stay at the school for an average of two years, and City Lights is their last chance. Students are referred to the school after other institutions and programs have given up on them. Seventy-six percent of City Lights' students have histories of delinquent behavior, 55 percent already have spent time in a juvenile facility, 29 percent have been patients in a psychiatric hospital, and 16 percent have children of their own. Only 9 percent of the students live with both parents, 25 percent of the students live in group homes or foster care, and the remainder of the students live with a single parent or with another relative.

Realizing that the needs of its students are extraordinarily complex, City Lights provides a comprehensive, tailored package of services for every student with four major components: education, clinical/psychological counseling, substance abuse prevention and treatment, and job training and skills development. Each student has his or her own "team," with a social worker who designs an individual treatment plan, a teacher, assistant teacher, and a foster grandparent. The social worker acts as a liaison to families and works with service agencies and community-based organizations to mobilize whatever resources his or her students need. In addition to its 10 classrooms, City Lights has a resource room for students struggling with academics, an independent living center with kitchen and laundry facilities, and a library.

As part of a grant from the U.S. Department of Education, City Lights and the Academy for Educational Development conducted a 1994 evaluation that showed:

- Nearly half of the students are in school, work, or vocational training one year after leaving City Lights.
- Although 82 percent of students had been arrested prior to admission, only 20 percent are incarcerated one year after leaving

the school. This figure decreases to 10 percent incarcerated three years after leaving City Lights.

- Attendance at City Lights is 75 percent.

According to Executive Director Ron Pettiway, trust, persistence, and consistency are the key elements contributing to the school's success.

"City Lights' staff never give up and the kids know that," says Pettiway. If a student's not at school, someone will go to the youth's home to find out why. If a student has a hard time communicating in a large group, a teacher will call him or her on the phone to talk after school.

City Lights, which has a staff of 50, gets funding for its $2 million annual budget from the federal and city government, community-based organizations, and more than 32 foundations, corporations, and congregations, as well as a growing number of individual donors.

When trying to get a program like City Lights off the ground, Tolmach Silber says the first step is a thorough needs assessment of the community you are hoping to reach. Next is to build a broad-based coalition, including business, real estate, and banking professionals — people who can help with the financial planning — as well as people who know how to design and run children's programs. It's also crucial to be realistic in setting outcome goals, she says. For example, having chronic truants come to school regularly is in itself a triumph for City Lights.

Finally, Tolmach Silber advises that keeping a program going is much harder than starting one. "There has to be a long-range vision from the start so that you know what you're going to do once the seed money is gone," she says.

YouthBuild Boston
173A Norfolk Avenue
Roxbury, MA 02119
617-445-8887

Jackie Gelb, Executive Director
Dorothy Stoneman, Founder and President, YouthBuild USA

YouthBuild Boston, one of 15 affiliates of YouthBuild USA, is an intensive year-long work and study program for unemployed 18- to 24-year-olds. Its goal is to equip young adults with self-esteem, marketable skills, work experience, links with caring adults, and a chance to rebuild their own community.

Three-quarters of participants never finished high school, half have children, and many have been living "on the streets." Their most common characteristic, however, is a commitment to make a new start in life.

The young adults in the program alternate weekly between educational and construction training. While half of the group spends a week in the classroom, strengthening academic skills and working toward high school equivalency degrees, the other half learns the construction trade and renovates buildings for homeless and low-income families in the community. Union carpenters on staff provide guidance and instruction on all work required to complete the renovation — from demolition to finished carpentry. Trainees also serve as apprentices to architects, estimators, electricians, and plumbers.

The program also provides counseling, leadership development, job placement, and stipends of $5,000 to $6,000 per student. By the end of the year, most participants have their equivalency degrees and are ready for employment; those who are not can get an extension or enroll in the program for a second year.

Another focus of YouthBuild Boston is developing young adults' sense of personal responsibility, particularly within their families and community. Before they're allowed to enroll, would-be participants must register to vote and get a library card. Each person in the program is encouraged to find an older adult sponsor to supply additional support. Young adults who have no one in their lives to fill that role are linked with a mentoring program. The YouthBuild program begins with a mandatory three-week Mental Toughness Training, in which participants concentrate on leaving the streets behind; understanding the impact racism, community conditions, and the school system have on their self-esteem; and developing strategies to change their lives. Through an elected Youth Policy Committee, participants are very involved in YouthBuild Boston's decision making. The committee meets biweekly with the YouthBuild Boston's executive director and program director to discuss their concerns and to interview potential new staff members.

The YouthBuild Alumni Program provides support services to all graduates of the program for life, but intensively for the first two years. This long-term commitment to the young people is crucial, according to Executive Director Jackie Gelb. "Quick fixes won't make a difference," she says.

Gelb believes YouthBuild Boston is effective because it is comprehensive. The strong educational, vocational, leadership, and personal development components enable young people to make lasting changes in their lives.

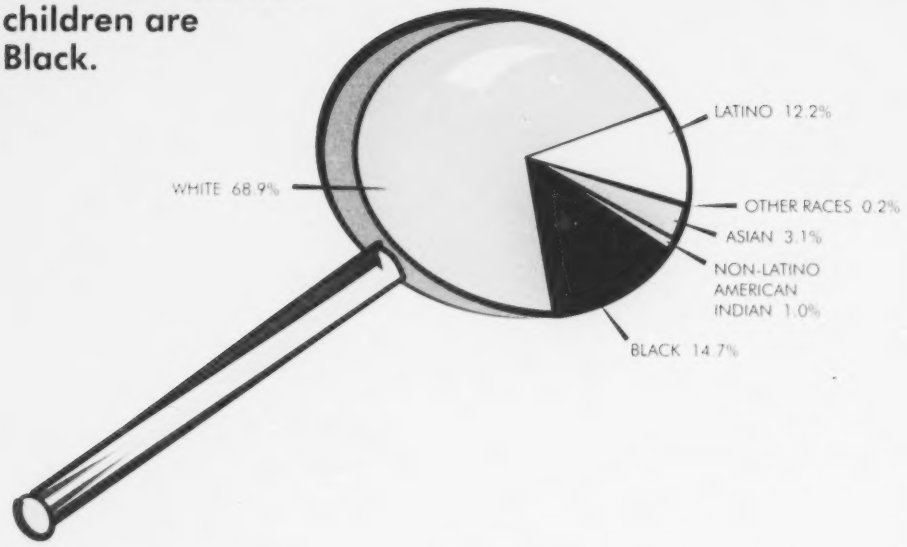
"It is a logical and appealing solution to put the young people to work reclaiming deteriorating communities and building permanent housing for the homeless and other low-income people, while putting their own lives in order, " says Dorothy Stoneman, founder of YouthBuild USA, the national umbrella organization for YouthBuild programs across the country.

Including the weekly stipend, the cost of a year in the program for one young adult is approximately $22,000. YouthBuild Boston is able to accept only one-fifth of those who apply, due to funding limits. In 1994 the program was able to enroll 70 young adults, up significantly from 42 in previous years, due to new grants from AmeriCorps and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. YouthBuild Boston's annual $2.5 million budget is supported by foundations, corporations, individual donations, and city and federal funds.

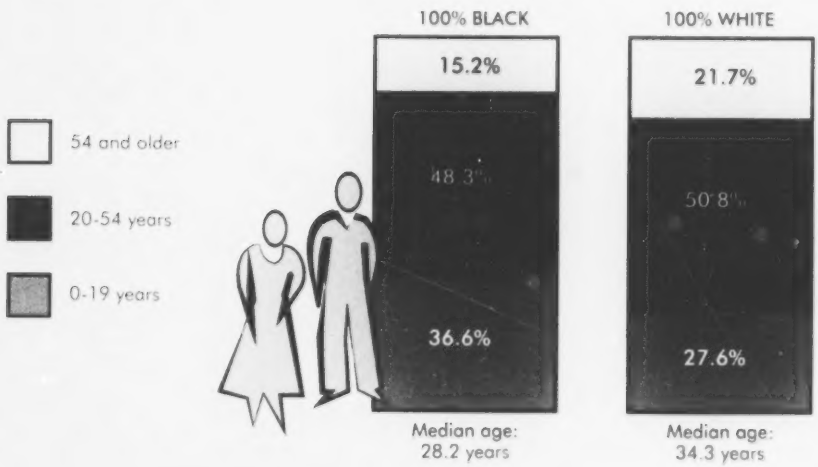
Data on the Status of Black Children

Chapter 5

14.7% of America's children are Black.



The Black community's median age is younger than that of the White population.



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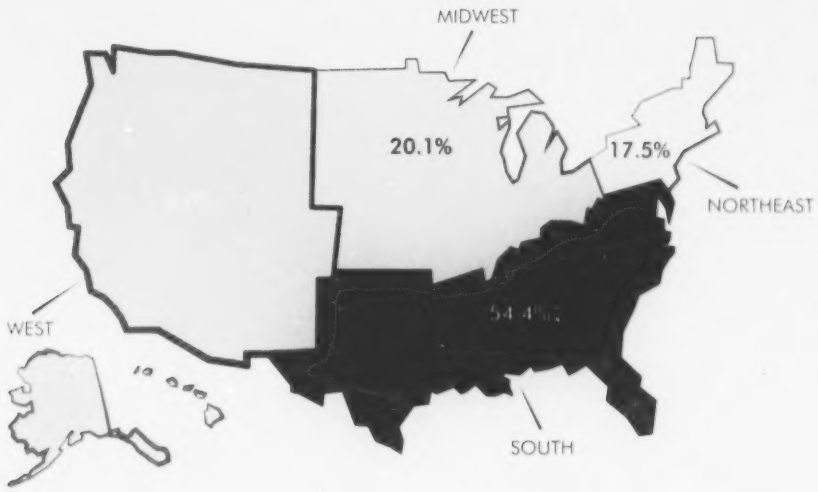
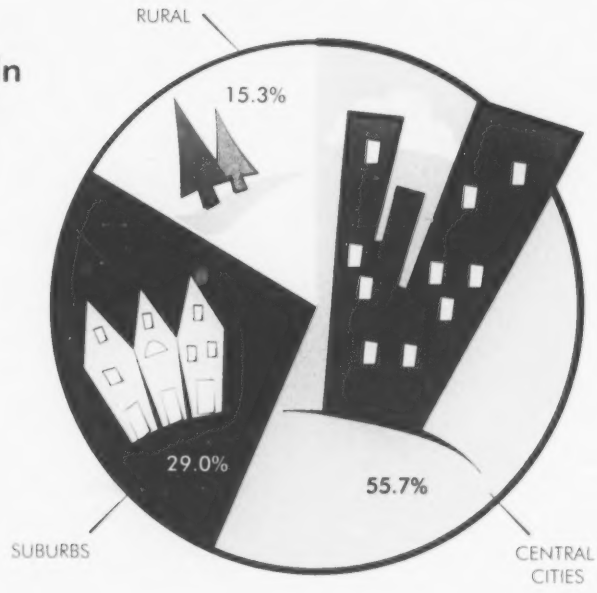
Black population is concentrated in the South ...



... and in central cities.



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More than half of Black children live in one-parent families.

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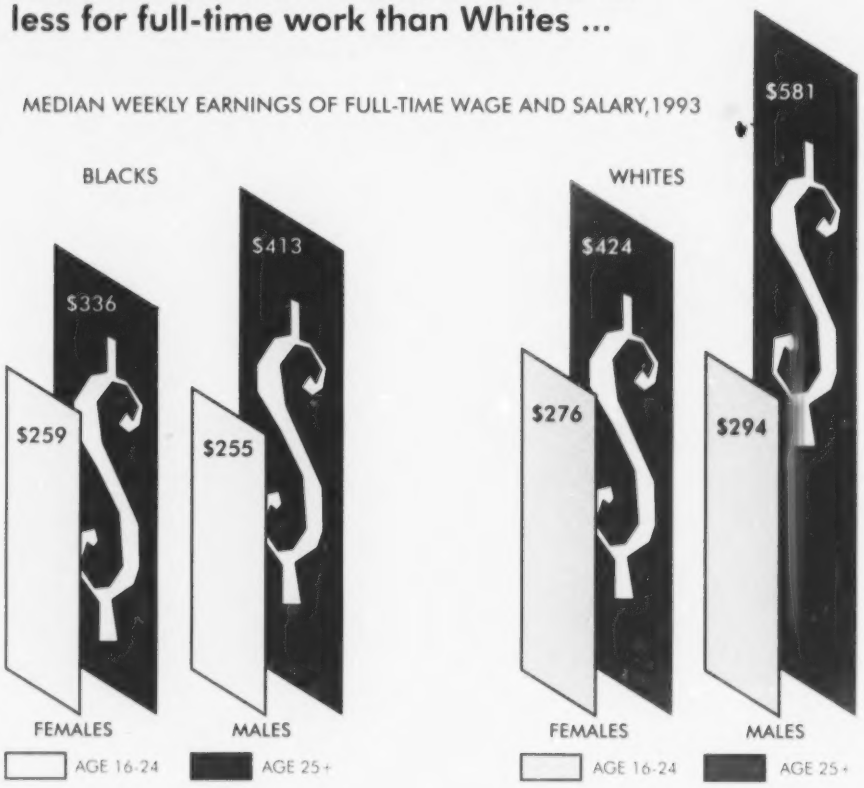
African Americans continue to earn far less for full-time work than Whites ...



... And our child poverty rates are disproportionately high.

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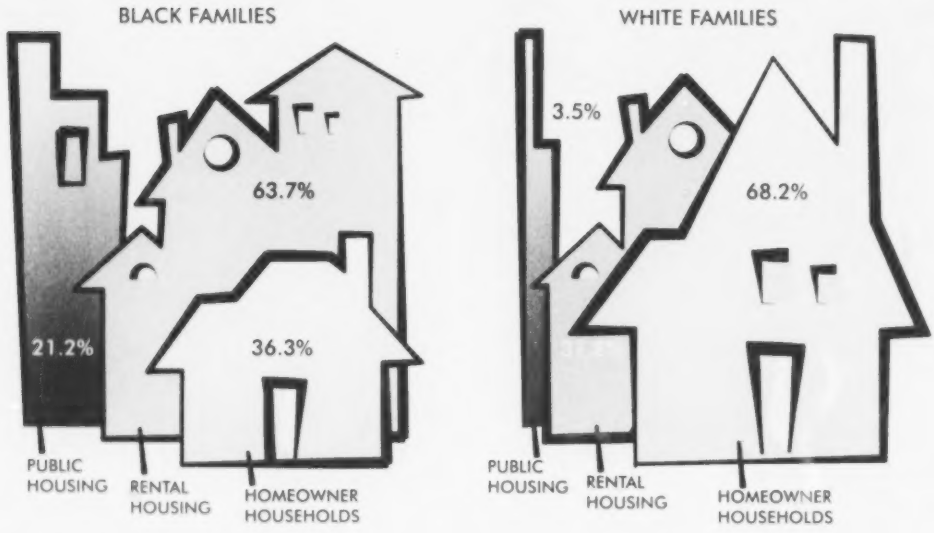
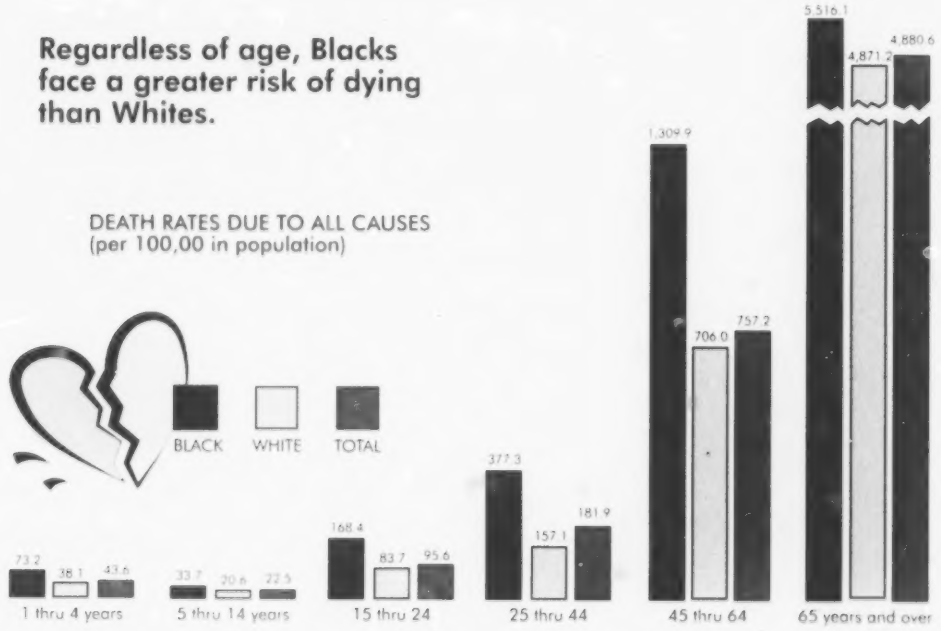
Black families with children are more than twice as likely as White households to live in rental housing, and far more likely to live in public housing.



Regardless of age, Blacks face a greater risk of dying than Whites.



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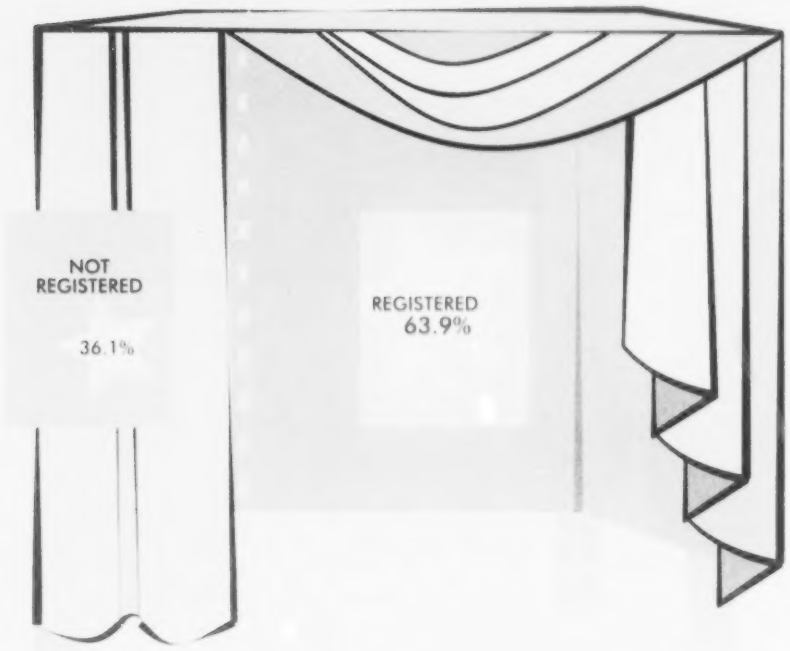
Just more than half of eligible Blacks ...



... voted in the 1992 elections.

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Number of Black Children in State and Percent Poor, 1989

State	# of Black Children in State	Rank	% of Children in State Who Are Black	Rank	% of Black Children Who Are Poor	Rank
Alabama	338,108	12	32.2%	6	47.5%	8
Alaska	7,507	42	4.5	34	14.5	50
Arizona	35,861	31	3.7	36	35.7	27
Arkansas	134,591	21	21.9	10	52.0	4
California	637,513	3	8.4	27	30.7	38
Colorado	40,514	30	4.8	32	33.8	31
Connecticut	81,528	25	11.0	22	28.9	41
District of Columbia	90,465	23	80.6	1	29.1	40
Delaware	34,403	33	21.4	11	30.8	37
Florida	594,099	4	21.1	12	41.0	17
Georgia	568,155	5	33.3	5	40.0	21
Hawaii	8,256	41	3.0	39	11.7	51
Idaho	1,251	47	0.4	50	22.5	47
Illinois	539,113	6	18.5	15	43.3	13
Indiana	139,719	20	9.7	23	40.1	20
Iowa	16,284	36	2.3	40	50.6	5
Kansas	46,263	29	7.1	29	40.3	19
Kentucky	81,201	26	8.6	26	47.0	9
Louisiana	459,045	7	37.8	4	56.5	1
Maine	1,698	45	0.6	46	25.9	44
Maryland	331,599	15	29.0	7	23.2	46
Massachusetts	88,627	24	6.6	30	33.3	33
Michigan	408,160	9	16.8	16	46.2	10
Minnesota	35,173	32	3.1	38	49.5	7
Mississippi	334,785	13	45.3	2	55.6	3
Missouri	173,393	19	13.4	19	41.5	16
Montana	710	51	0.3	51	31.1	35
Nebraska	20,298	35	4.8	32	43.2	14
Nevada	24,985	34	8.7	25	33.5	32
New Hampshire	2,289	44	0.8	43	15.3	48
New Jersey	293,890	17	16.6	17	27.8	42
New Mexico	10,130	40	2.3	40	35.0	28
New York	805,433	1	19.3	14	34.1	30
North Carolina	440,682	8	27.8	8	35.9	26
North Dakota	1,348	46	0.8	43	15.1	49
Ohio	359,172	10	13.0	20	45.4	11
Oklahoma	77,445	27	9.4	24	44.5	12
Oregon	15,101	38	2.1	42	36.3	24
Pennsylvania	307,691	16	11.2	21	40.6	18
Rhode Island	12,330	39	5.5	31	35.9	26
South Carolina	345,008	11	37.9	3	39.6	22
South Dakota	1,223	48	0.6	46	26.7	43
Tennessee	246,852	18	20.6	13	43.0	15
Texas	646,267	2	13.5	18	39.3	23
Utah	3,717	43	0.6	46	34.7	29
Vermont	847	50	0.6	46	24.9	45
Virginia	333,072	14	22.5	9	30.9	36
Washington	47,650	28	3.9	35	30.5	39
West Virginia	15,701	37	3.6	37	50.2	6
Wisconsin	95,677	22	7.5	28	55.8	2
Wyoming	1,079	49	0.8	43	31.5	34
United States	**9,335,908**		**14.9%**		**39.8%**	

Source: 1990 Census. Calculations by CDF.

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State Rankings

Black Child Poverty

Black children face extraordinarily high risks of poverty. After dropping sharply during the 1960s, poverty among Black children increased substantially during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1989, four out of 10 Black children were poor. In six states – Arkansas, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, West Virginia, and Wisconsin – more than half of all Black children were poor.

Infant Mortality Rates

In 1992, 11,348 Black infants died before reaching their first birthday. The Black infant mortality rate was 16.8 deaths per 1,000 live births. Kentucky's rate, the lowest Black infant mortality rate reported (12.7), was 1.4 times the White infant mortality rate in Wyoming, which has the highest mortality rate for White infants (9.0).

Ranked by Black Infant Mortality Rates *, 1992

State	Black	Rank	White	Rank	Total
Michigan	22.1	1	7.0	24	10.2
District of Columbia	22.0	2	*	51	19.6
Kansas	21.7	3	7.5	14	8.7
Pennsylvania	20.4	4	6.9	29	9.0
Indiana	20.3	5	8.0	5	9.4
Illinois	19.8	6	7.4	16	10.1
New Jersey	18.7	7	5.9	44	8.4
Delaware	18.0	8	5.8	47	8.6
Ohio	18.0	8	7.9	7	9.4
Virginia	17.7	10	6.9	30	9.5
Minnesota	17.5	11	6.2	41	7.1
Tennessee	17.4	12	7.0	24	9.4
Connecticut	17.2	13	6.2	42	7.6
California	16.8	14	6.3	40	7.0
Oklahoma	16.8	14	7.9	8	8.8
Arizona	16.7	16	7.8	10	8.4
Nevada	16.6	17	5.9	45	6.7
Maryland	16.5	18	6.7	17	9.8
North Carolina	16.5	18	7.3	35	10.0
Alabama	16.2	20	7.6	4	10.5
Arkansas	16.2	20	8.6	13	10.3
Mississippi	16.1	22	8.0	6	11.9
South Carolina	16.0	23	7.1	23	10.4
Missouri	15.9	24	6.9	38	8.5
Washington	15.9	24	6.4	20	6.8
Georgia	15.9	24	7.1	31	10.3
New York	15.8	27	7.1	22	8.8
Florida	15.1	28	7.0	24	8.8
Colorado	14.6	29	7.2	20	7.6
Texas	14.2	30	6.8	34	7.8
Wisconsin	13.5	31	6.4	39	7.2
Massachusetts	13.4	32	5.8	48	6.5
Louisiana	13.0	33	6.9	27	9.4
Kentucky	12.7	34	7.9	8	8.3
Wyoming	*		9.0	1	8.9
West Virginia	*		8.9	2	9.2
Idaho	*		8.8	3	8.8
South Dakota	*		7.7	11	9.3
Iowa	*		7.7	12	8.0
North Dakota	*		7.4	14	7.8
Alaska	*		7.3	18	8.6
Vermont	*		7.3	18	7.2
Rhode Island	*		6.9	28	7.4
Oregon	*		6.8	32	7.1
New Mexico	*		6.8	33	7.6
Nebraska	*		6.7	37	7.4
Montana	*		6.7	36	7.5
Utah	*		6.0	43	5.9
New Hampshire	*		5.8	46	5.9
Maine	*		5.5	49	5.6
Hawaii	*		*	50	6.3
United States	**16.8**		**6.9**		**8.5**

* Infant deaths per 1,000 live births
* Number too small to calculate a reliable rate
Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Ranks calculated by CDF

Ranked by Percent of Black Mothers who Received Late or No Prenatal Care, 1992

State	Black	Rank	White	Rank	Total
Pennsylvania	16.9%	1	3.1%	23	5.2%
District of Columbia	16.0	2	3.1	23	13.9
New York	13.8	3	4.8	8	3.5
Nevada	13.8	3	7.0	4	7.8
Minnesota	13.8	3	2.4	40	6.8
West Virginia	13.2	6	3.9	12	4.2
New Mexico	12.7	7	8.6	2	9.9
Arkansas	12.2	8	4.7	9	6.5
Texas	12.1	9	8.9	1	9.2
Oklahoma	12.1	9	5.1	6	6.4
South Carolina	11.8	11	3.9	12	4.6
New Jersey	11.8	11	2.8	28	6.9
Delaware	11.2	13	2.6	34	4.7
Wisconsin	10.7	14	2.5	36	3.6
Missouri	10.6	15	2.9	25	4.2
Indiana	10.4	16	4.2	11	4.9
Arizona	10.1	17	7.5	3	5.8
Ohio	10.1	17	2.7	31	3.9
Louisiana	10.1	17	2.7	31	8.1
Illinois	9.6	20	3.7	16	5.0
Colorado	8.8	21	4.5	10	4.9
Alabama	8.7	22	2.6	34	4.7
Georgia	8.6	23	3.5	20	5.4
Michigan	8.4	24	2.5	36	4.2
Kentucky	8.4	24	3.7	16	4.2
North Carolina	8.4	24	2.4	40	3.7
Oregon	8.3	27	3.8	15	4.0
Florida	8.0	28	3.5	20	4.6
Nebraska	7.9	29	2.8	28	3.2
Tennessee	7.8	30	2.7	31	4.0
Washington	7.8	30	3.7	16	4.0
Maryland	7.7	32	1.8	48	5.0
Mississippi	7.7	32	2.4	40	3.7
Virginia	7.6	34	2.4	40	3.7
Connecticut	7.0	35	1.9	47	2.6
Kansas	7.0	35	2.8	28	3.2
California	6.3	37	5.4	5	5.3
Iowa	5.6	38	2.2	42	2.4
Rhode Island	5.5	39	1.5	51	2.0
Massachusetts	5.2	40	1.7	50	2.1
Hawaii	4.7	41	3.7	16	5.7
Idaho	*		5.1	6	2.1
North Dakota	*		2.0	45	3.0
Vermont	*		2.6	34	4.3
Maine	*		1.8	48	5.2
Alaska	*		2.2	42	2.7
Wyoming	*		3.9	12	5.0
Montana	*		3.2	22	1.8
New Hampshire	*		2.0	45	2.8
Utah	*		2.1	44	2.5
South Dakota	*		2.8	28	4.2
United States	**9.9%**		**4.2%**		**5.2%**

* Number too small to calculate a reliable rate

Source: *Monthly Vital Statistics Report* vol. 42 no. 5, suppl., National Center for Health Statistics, 1994
Ranks calculated by CDF

Late or No Prenatal Care

Prenatal care that begins early and continues throughout pregnancy can prevent low birthweight and infant mortality. Nationally, one in 10 Black mothers received late or no prenatal care in 1992. In Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Nevada, New York, and the District of Columbia, as many as one in seven mothers had received late or no prenatal care.

Percentage of Births at Low Birthweight by Race

Babies born too small are 40 times more likely to die than normal weight babies. In 1992, 89,517 Black women gave birth to low-birthweight babies. The lowest percentage reported of low-birthweight births to Black women (9.3 percent) was higher than the highest reported percentage for White births (8.0 percent).

Ranked by Percent of Low-Birthweight Births to Black Women, 1992

State	Black	Rank	White	Rank	Total
Colorado	16.9%	1	8.0%	1	8.5%
District of Columbia	16.4	2	4.6	49	14.3
Michigan	14.8	3	5.6	32	7.5
Illinois	14.6	4	5.7	28	7.7
Pennsylvania	14.5	5	5.8	25	7.2
Connecticut	14.0	6	5.8	25	6.9
Tennessee	14.0	6	6.7	6	8.5
Ohio	13.9	8	6.1	14	7.4
Nevada	13.8	9	6.4	8	7.1
Louisiana	13.7	10	3.2	51	9.4
Maryland	13.7	10	5.7	28	8.3
Missouri	13.6	12	6.0	17	7.3
New Jersey	13.5	13	5.7	28	7.2
Arkansas	13.5	13	6.5	7	8.2
Wisconsin	13.4	15	5.0	43	5.9
New Mexico	13.3	16	7.3	2	9.0
South Carolina	13.3	16	6.3	10	7.2
Mississippi	13.2	18	6.8	5	9.9
North Carolina	13.2	18	6.4	8	8.4
Delaware	13.1	20	5.8	25	7.6
Georgia	13.1	20	6.0	17	8.5
New York	13.1	20	6.1	14	7.6
Texas	13.0	23	6.0	17	7.0
Iowa	12.9	24	5.4	34	5.7
Alabama	12.8	25	6.2	12	8.5
California	12.6	26	5.3	39	5.9
Virginia	12.6	26	5.7	28	7.4
Arizona	12.5	28	6.2	12	6.4
Indiana	12.4	29	6.0	17	6.7
West Virginia	12.4	29	7.0	4	6.7
Oklahoma	12.4	29	6.1	14	7.2
Florida	12.0	32	6.0	17	7.4
Washington	11.9	33	4.9	47	5.3
Nebraska	11.8	34	5.3	39	6.8
Kentucky	11.8	34	6.3	10	5.6
Kansas	11.6	36	6.0	17	6.4
Minnesota	11.4	37	4.8	48	5.2
Oregon	10.9	38	5.0	43	6.0
Massachusetts	10.9	38	5.4	34	5.2
Alaska	10.7	40	4.3	50	4.9
Hawaii	10.7	40	5.4	34	7.2
Rhode Island	9.3	42	5.9	24	6.3
Utah	*		5.6	32	5.6
Wyoming	*		7.2	3	7.3
Montana	*		6.0	17	5.5
Idaho	*		5.5	34	5.3
South Dakota	*		5.1	42	6.0
New Hampshire	*		5.2	41	5.0
North Dakota	*		5.0	43	5.6
Vermont	*		5.5	34	5.2
Maine	*		5.0	43	5.1
United States	**13.3%**		**5.8%**		**7.1%**

* Number too small to calculate a reliable rate.

Source: "Advance report of final natality statistics, 1992." *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, vol. 42 no. 5, suppl. National Center for Health Statistics, 1994. Rates calculated by CDF.

Ranked by Percent of Births that Are to Black Unmarried Women, 1992

State	Black	Rank	White	Rank	Total
Wisconsin	82.2%	1	19.3%	29	26.1%
New Hampshire	79.5	2	19.1	31	19.2
Pennsylvania	79.4	3	22.9	15	31.6
Illinois	79.2	4	20.7	25	33.4
Missouri	78.7	5	21.5	22	31.5
District of Columbia	77.6	6	15.2	47	66.9
Ohio	77.1	7	23.1	14	31.6
Indiana	76.8	8	23.6	11	29.5
Iowa	75.1	9	21.9	18	23.5
Minnesota	74.4	10	19.3	29	23.0
Tennessee	73.3	11	20.1	28	32.7
Nebraska	72.7	12	18.8	33	22.6
Delaware	72.6	13	20.2	26	32.6
Mississippi	72.5	14	15.2	46	42.9
Michigan	72.1	15	15.0	48	26.8
Nevada	71.9	16	28.8	4	33.3
Arkansas	71.4	17	18.6	34	31.0
West Virginia	71.3	18	26.2	6	27.7
Oregon	70.8	19	25.7	7	27.0
Connecticut	70.7	20	22.2	17	28.7
Kentucky	70.5	21	21.7	21	26.3
Louisiana	70.0	22	18.5	35	40.2
Florida	68.9	23	23.7	10	34.2
Oklahoma	68.4	24	21.5	22	28.4
Alabama	68.2	25	13.7	50	32.6
New York	67.8	26	26.6	5	34.8
Rhode Island	67.2	27	25.7	7	29.6
Georgia	67.1	28	16.9	41	35.0
North Carolina	66.8	29	16.1	44	31.3
Kansas	65.8	30	20.2	26	24.3
New Jersey	65.7	31	17.4	39	26.4
South Carolina	65.6	32	16.8	42	35.5
Arizona	65.3	33	32.7	3	36.2
Virginia	63.9	34	17.0	40	28.3
Massachusetts	63.0	35	21.8	19	25.9
California	62.8	36	34.0	2	34.3
Maryland	60.2	37	16.3	43	30.5
New Mexico	58.1	38	34.6	1	39.5
Colorado	56.1	39	21.8	19	23.8
Washington	55.3	40	23.5	12	25.3
Utah	51.8	41	14.2	49	15.1
Wyoming	50.8	42	22.5	16	24.0
Texas	46.6	43	13.1	51	17.5
Maine	36.6	44	25.3	9	25.3
Alaska	35.2	45	19.0	32	27.4
Hawaii	19.4	46	15.5	45	26.2
Montana	*		20.8	24	26.4
Vermont	*		23.3	13	23.4
Idaho	*		17.9	38	18.3
South Dakota	*		18.1	37	26.7
North Dakota	*		18.2	36	22.6
United States	**68.1%**		**22.6%**		**30.1%**

* Number too small to calculate a reliable rate

Source: *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, vol. 42 no. 5, suppl., National Center for Health Statistics, 1994
Calculations by CDF

Percentage of All Births that Are to Unmarried Women

In 1992 almost seven out of 10 Black infants were born to unmarried mothers. In 42 states, at least half of all Black women giving birth were not married.

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Percentage of All Births that Are to Teenage Mothers

Black teenagers are much more likely to bear children than their White peers. Black teen ages 15 to 19 were more than twice as likely as their White peers to give birth: 112.4 births per 1,000 Black teens, compared with 51.8 births per 1,000 White teens in 1992. In 1991, 38 states reported that more than 18 percent of all Black women who had given birth were teenagers.

Ranked by Percent of All Black Births that Are to Teenage Mothers, 1991

State	Black	Rank	White	Rank	Total
Arkansas	30.1%	1	16.7%	2	19.9%
Wisconsin	29.9	2	7.7	41	10.3
Mississippi	28.3	3	15.4	5	21.7
Indiana	27.5	4	12.6	15	14.4
Iowa	26.9	5	9.9	29	10.5
Oklahoma	26.9	5	14.8	8	17.1
Alabama	26.6	7	14.2	10	18.4
Illinois	26.4	8	9.1	33	13.0
Missouri	26.1	9	11.8	19	14.4
Kentucky	25.9	10	16.5	3	17.4
Tennessee	25.9	10	15.1	6	17.4
Ohio	25.8	12	11.5	22	14.0
Michigan	25.5	13	9.7	31	13.2
Oregon	25.3	14	11.9	18	12.3
Louisiana	24.7	15	12.5	16	17.6
North Carolina	24.7	15	12.1	17	16.2
West Virginia	24.2	17	17.4	1	17.5
Nebraska	24.2	17	8.7	36	9.8
Florida	24.1	19	10.7	26	13.9
Texas	24.1	19	14.9	7	16.0
Georgia	24.0	21	12.7	13	16.7
Kansas	24.0	21	10.8	24	12.2
South Carolina	23.6	23	12.7	13	17.0
Nevada	23.5	24	11.6	21	12.9
Pennsylvania	23.3	25	8.3	40	10.9
Delaware	23.3	25	8.4	39	12.2
Minnesota	23.1	27	6.6	46	8.1
Arizona	22.7	28	14.3	9	14.9
New Mexico	21.8	29	16.5	3	16.6
Colorado	21.1	30	11.2	23	11.8
District of Columbia	20.4	31	2.7	51	17.4
Rhode Island	19.8	32	8.6	37	9.8
New Jersey	19.7	33	5.6	50	8.4
Virginia	19.4	34	8.9	34	11.5
Connecticut	19.1	35	6.4	48	8.2
Maryland	18.5	36	6.5	47	10.3
Washington	18.3	37	10.3	28	10.9
California	18.2	38	11.7	20	11.7
Massachusetts	15.9	39	7.0	45	7.9
New York	15.8	40	7.5	42	9.2
Utah	14.4	41	10.6	27	10.7
Alaska	14.0	42	8.8	35	10.5
Hawaii	8.6	43	6.1	49	10.5
Montana	*		9.8	30	12.4
Maine	*		10.8	24	10.9
Idaho	*		13.2	12	13.3
Wyoming	*		13.6	11	13.9
North Dakota	*		7.2	43	8.8
South Dakota	*		8.5	38	11.0
Vermont	*		9.3	32	9.4
New Hampshire	*		7.0	44	7.1
United States	**22.8%**		**11.0%**		**12.9%**

* Number too small to calculate a reliable rate.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

Males 15-19 Years Old Ranked by Number of Black Deaths by Homicide, 1990

Rank	State	Black	White
1	New York	180	117
2	Illinois	153	54
3	Michigan	146	8
4	California	136	311
5	Texas	120	117
6	Florida	90	34
7	Louisiana	87	4
8	Maryland	70	8
9	Dist. of Columbia	68	3
10	Pennsylvania	54	24
11	Ohio	45	12
12	Virginia	42	17
13	Alabama	41	12
14	Georgia	40	12
15	Missouri	38	8
16	North Carolina	38	12
17	Tennessee	29	5
18	Massachusetts	26	12
19	Wisconsin	25	10
20	New Jersey	21	9
21	Mississippi	19	5
22	South Carolina	18	5
23	Oklahoma	17	7
24	Connecticut	17	8
25	Indiana	15	16
26	Arkansas	11	3
27	Kansas	9	4
28	Nevada	6	4
29	Washington	6	8
30	Oregon	4	3
31	Minnesota	4	4
32	Arizona	2	20
33	Rhode Island	2	2
34	Delaware	2	1
35	West Virginia	1	4
36	Iowa	1	1
37	Kentucky	1	6
38	Colorado	1	12
39	Hawaii	0	0
40	Alaska	0	0
41	Vermont	0	0
42	Idaho	0	2
43	New Mexico	0	10
44	Wyoming	0	1
45	Utah	0	1
46	Maine	0	1
47	Montana	0	2
48	Nebraska	0	2
49	New Hampshire	0	1
50	North Dakota	0	0
51	South Dakota	0	0
	United States	**1,585**	**922**

Males 20-24 Years Old Ranked by Number of Black Deaths by Homicide, 1990

Rank	State	Black	White
1	New York	258	187
2	California	217	421
3	Illinois	155	55
4	Texas	151	181
5	Florida	145	66
6	Michigan	129	29
7	Louisiana	122	15
8	Maryland	107	11
9	Pennsylvania	87	30
10	Georgia	84	21
11	Dist. of Columbia	73	3
12	Virginia	58	18
13	North Carolina	58	34
14	Ohio	53	29
15	Tennessee	52	18
16	Alabama	51	13
17	Missouri	42	9
18	Mississippi	40	11
19	New Jersey	38	26
20	Massachusetts	28	17
21	South Carolina	27	12
22	Arkansas	23	8
23	Indiana	20	10
24	Wisconsin	16	11
25	Connecticut	15	17
26	Oklahoma	10	16
27	Nevada	7	9
28	Washington	6	22
29	Arizona	6	31
30	Kentucky	4	19
31	Kansas	4	8
32	Minnesota	4	3
33	Nebraska	4	0
34	Colorado	3	23
35	New Mexico	3	12
36	Delaware	3	1
37	Oregon	2	14
38	Iowa	2	3
39	Alaska	0	2
40	Utah	0	4
41	Vermont	0	2
42	Maine	0	3
43	Wyoming	0	4
44	West Virginia	0	11
45	Rhode Island	0	4
46	Hawaii	0	2
47	North Dakota	0	0
48	New Hampshire	0	2
49	Idaho	0	2
50	Montana	0	3
51	South Dakota	0	1
	United States	**2,107**	**1,453**

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

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Homicides

Seventy-five percent of all homicides of Black males age 15-24 occurred in just 12 states.

States with Highest Number of Homicides of Black Males 15-24 Years Old, 1990

Rank	State	Number Black	Number White	% of all U.S. Black Homicides
1	New York	438	304	11.9%
2	California	353	732	9.6
3	Illinois	308	109	8.3
4	Michigan	275	37	7.4
5	Texas	271	298	7.3
6	Florida	235	100	6.4
7	Louisiana	209	19	5.7
8	Maryland	177	19	4.8
9	Pennsylvania	141	54	3.8
10	District of Columbia	141	6	3.8
11	Georgia	124	33	3.4
12	Virginia	100	35	2.7
	Subtotal	2,772	1,746	75.1%
	United States	3,692	2,375	100.0%

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

State Rankings by Black/White Disparities

POOR CHILDREN

Smallest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of Black and White Poor Children, 1989

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	North Dakota	15.1%	14.4%	0.7
2	Hawaii	11.7	9.9	1.8
3	Alaska	14.5	7.4	7.1
4	Idaho	22.5	14.7	7.8
5	New Hampshire	15.3	7.2	8.1
6	South Dakota	26.7	14.7	12.0
7	Maine	25.9	13.6	12.3
8	New Mexico	35.0	22.1	12.9
9	Vermont	24.9	11.9	13.0
10	Montana	31.1	17.1	14.0

Biggest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of Black and White Poor Children, 1989

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	Wisconsin	55.8%	9.9%	45.9
2	Louisiana	56.5	15.4	41.1
3	Mississippi	55.6	14.9	40.7
5	Minnesota	49.5	9.7	39.8
4	Iowa	50.6	13.1	37.5
6	Alabama	47.5	12.9	34.6
7	Arkansas	52.0	17.7	34.3
8	Michigan	46.2	12.4	33.8
9	Illinois	43.3	9.7	33.6
10	Ohio	45.4	13.4	32.0

Source: 1990 Census. Calculations by CDF.

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Low Birthweight

Smallest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of Black and White Births at Low Birthweight, 1992

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	Rhode Island	9.3%	5.9%	3.4
2	Hawaii	10.7	5.4	5.3
3	West Virginia	12.4	7.0	5.4
4	Massachusetts	10.9	5.4	5.5
4	Kentucky	11.8	6.3	5.5
6	Kansas	11.6	6.0	5.6
7	Oregon	10.9	5.0	5.9
8	Florida	12.0	6.0	6.0
8	New Mexico	13.3	7.3	6.0
10	Arizona	12.5	6.2	6.3
10	Oklahoma	12.4	6.1	6.3

Biggest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of Black and White Births at Low Birthweight, 1992

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	District of Columbia	16.4%	4.6%	11.8
2	Louisiana	13.7	3.2	10.5
3	Michigan	14.8	5.6	9.2
4	Colorado	16.9	8.0	8.9
4	Illinois	14.6	5.7	8.9
6	Pennsylvania	14.5	5.8	8.7
7	Wisconsin	13.4	5.0	8.4
8	Connecticut	14.0	5.8	8.2
9	Maryland	13.7	5.7	8.0
10	Ohio	13.9	6.1	7.8

Source: "Advance report of final natality statistics, 1992," *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, vol. 42 no. 5, suppl., National Center for Health Statistics, 1994. Rates calculated by CDF.

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Smallest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of Black and White Mothers Who Received Late or No Prenatal Care, 1992

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	California	6.3%	5.4%	0.9
2	Hawaii	4.7	3.7	1.0
3	Arizona	10.1	7.5	2.6
4	Texas	12.1	8.9	3.2
5	Iowa	5.6	2.2	3.4
6	Massachusetts	5.2	1.7	3.5
7	Rhode Island	5.5	1.5	4.0
8	Washington	7.8	3.7	4.1
8	New Mexico	12.7	8.6	4.1
10	Kansas	7.0	2.8	4.2

Biggest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of Black and White Mothers Who Received Late or No Prenatal Care, 1992

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	Pennsylvania	16.9%	3.1%	13.8
2	District of Columbia	16.0	3.1	12.9
3	Minnesota	13.8	2.4	11.4
4	West Virginia	13.2	3.9	9.3
5	New York	13.8	4.8	9.0
6	New Jersey	11.8	2.8	9.0
7	Delaware	11.2	2.6	8.6
8	Wisconsin	10.7	2.5	8.2
9	South Carolina	11.8	3.9	7.9
10	Missouri	10.6	2.9	7.7

Source: *Monthly Vital Statistics Report* vol. 42 no. 5, suppl., National Center for Health Statistics, 1994. Calculations by CDF

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Births to Teenage Mothers

Smallest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of all Births that Were to Black and White Teenage Mothers, 1991

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	Hawaii	8.6%	6.1%	2.5
2	Utah	14.4	10.6	3.8
3	Alaska	14.0	8.8	5.2
4	New Mexico	21.8	16.5	5.3
4	California	18.2	11.7	6.5
6	West Virginia	24.2	17.4	6.8
7	Washington	18.3	10.3	8.0
8	New York	15.8	7.5	8.3
9	Arizona	22.7	14.3	8.4
10	Massachusetts	15.9	7.0	8.9

Biggest Disparities

Ranked by the Difference in the Percent of all Births that Were to Black and White Teenage Mothers, 1991

Rank	State	Black	White	Difference Between Black and White
1	Wisconsin	29.9%	7.7%	22.2
2	District of Columbia	20.4	2.7	17.7
3	Illinois	26.4	9.1	17.3
4	Iowa	26.9	9.9	17.0
5	Minnesota	23.1	6.6	16.5
6	Michigan	25.5	9.7	15.8
7	Nebraska	24.2	8.7	15.5
8	Pennsylvania	23.3	8.3	15.0
9	Indiana	27.5	12.6	14.9
9	Delaware	23.3	8.4	14.9

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Number of Children Receiving AFDC by State and Estimated Number of Children Who Would Lose AFDC Benefits by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

State	Total Children	Rank	Black Children	Rank	% of State Children Who Are Black	Rank	**Estimated # of Children To Lose AFDC Benefits	**Estimated # of Black Children To Lose AFDC Benefits
Alabama	100,100	27	79,279	19	79.2%	5	30,030	23,784
Alaska	18,929	45	1,817	41	9.6	38	5,679	545
Arizona	125,482	24	12,799	32	10.2	36	37,645	3,840
Arkansas	52,466	35	33,211	23	63.3	11	15,740	9,963
California	1,633,036	1	251,488	3	15.4	32	489,911	75,446
Colorado	82,944	29	11,944	33	14.4	35	24,883	3,583
Connecticut	103,275	25	32,222	24	31.2	26	30,983	9,667
Delaware	20,989	43	14,524	31	69.2	8	6,297	4,357
District of Columbia	42,420	37	41,572	21	98.0	1	12,726	12,471
Florida	427,803	7	237,431	4	55.5	14	128,341	71,229
Georgia	268,911	9	208,137	6	77.4	6	80,673	62,441
Hawaii	36,143	39	289	45	0.8	48	10,843	87
Idaho	13,625	48	41	51	0.3	51	4,088	12
Illinois	470,693	5	296,537	1	63.0	12	141,208	88,961
Indiana	134,331	20	32,105	25	23.9	28	40,299	9,632
Iowa	69,647	32	10,099	34	14.5	34	20,894	3,030
Kansas	57,589	33	18,083	29	31.4	25	17,277	5,425
Kentucky	147,502	18	29,795	27	20.2	30	44,251	8,939
Louisiana	197,982	13	166,701	10	84.2	3	59,395	50,010
Maine	43,346	36	390	44	0.9	45	13,004	117
Maryland	144,877	19	92,432	15	63.8	10	43,463	27,729
Massachusetts	203,763	12	33,417	22	16.4	31	61,129	10,025
Michigan	435,168	6	220,195	5	50.6	15	130,550	66,059
Minnesota	125,809	23	29,062	28	23.1	29	37,743	8,719
Mississippi	129,302	21	110,424	13	85.4	2	38,791	33,127
Missouri	168,761	16	81,680	18	48.4	17	50,628	24,504
Montana	20,486	44	287	46	1.4	44	6,146	86
Nebraska	32,172	41	9,105	35	28.3	27	9,652	2,731
Nevada	21,282	42	7,938	36	37.3	21	6,385	2,381
New Hampshire	18,222	46	164	47	0.9	47	5,467	49
New Jersey	247,421	10	124,700	12	50.4	16	74,226	37,410
New Mexico	56,236	34	2,924	40	5.2	41	16,871	877
New York	725,809	2	259,840	2	35.8	23	217,743	77,952
North Carolina	209,422	11	145,339	11	69.4	7	62,827	43,602
North Dakota	12,233	51	98	49	0.8	49	3,670	29
Ohio	499,015	4	201,103	7	40.3	20	149,705	60,331
Oklahoma	93,233	28	30,860	26	33.1	24	27,970	9,258
Oregon	78,520	30	6,125	37	7.8	39	23,556	1,837
Pennsylvania	393,983	8	173,747	9	44.1	18	118,195	52,124
Rhode Island	40,000	38	5,840	38	14.6	33	12,000	1,752
South Carolina	102,010	26	82,934	17	81.3	4	30,603	24,880
South Dakota	13,315	49	67	50	0.5	50	3,995	20
Tennessee	174,573	15	97,586	14	55.9	13	52,372	29,276
Texas	536,630	3	194,797	8	36.3	22	160,989	58,439
Utah	34,569	40	1,210	42	3.5	43	10,371	363
Vermont	17,259	47	155	48	0.9	46	5,178	47
Virginia	128,927	22	87,155	16	67.6	9	38,678	26,146
Washington	175,555	14	16,853	30	9.6	37	52,667	5,056
West Virginia	76,316	31	5,647	39	7.4	40	22,895	1,694
Wisconsin	166,947	17	68,448	20	41.0	19	50,084	20,534
Wyoming	12,392	50	570	43	4.6	42	3,718	171
United States	**9,280,377**		**3,572,945**		**38.5%**		**2,784,113**	**1,071,884**

*Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.

Source: Office of Family Assistance, "Characteristics and Financial Circumstances of AFDC Recipients" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1994), Table 17. Calculations by CDF.

**Millions more children could lose AFDC benefits due to changes in eligibility requirements proposed in the "Contract with America."

State Ranking of Program Participants

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Education for Children with Disabilities, 1992-1993 School Year

Ranked by Number of Children Served by Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and State Operated Programs (SOP) and Estimated Number of Children Who Would Lose These Services by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Total	Age				Estimated # of Children Under 21 To Lose Services
			Under 3	3-5	6-17	18-21	
1	California	494,058	832	43,519	430,683	5,412	123,515
2	Texas	367,860	7,023	26,059	315,751	583	91,965
3	New York	324,677	2,298	29,213	272,980	2,698	81,169
4	Florida	253,606	2,005	16,284	225,614	2,275	63,402
5	Illinois	245,931	3,560	23,793	207,659	19,024	61,483
6	Pennsylvania	214,035	5,349	16,887	180,883	2,614	53,509
7	Ohio	210,268	0	13,629	185,243	3,434	52,567
8	New Jersey	184,621	2,404	15,041	158,562	732	46,155
9	Michigan	172,238	2,959	15,411	144,562	594	43,060
10	Massachusetts	156,633	5,549	12,744	130,390	9,703	39,158
11	North Carolina	127,867	766	11,218	111,079	4,205	31,967
12	Virginia	122,647	2,551	10,808	103,781	402	30,662
13	Indiana	118,924	2,281	7,593	103,534	689	29,731
14	Tennessee	111,315	2,296	8,630	95,003	10,919	27,829
15	Georgia	107,660	174	8,204	95,077	5,516	26,915
16	Missouri	105,521	1,323	5,168	94,211	2,904	26,380
17	Alabama	96,975	634	7,710	83,219	1,859	24,244
18	Maryland	92,520	2,775	7,840	78,069	3,335	23,130
19	Wisconsin	91,742	1,433	11,452	74,648	4,316	22,936
20	Washington	91,286	2,032	10,430	75,005	1,257	22,822
21	Minnesota	83,028	2,203	9,002	68,768	3,836	20,757
22	Kentucky	81,681	788	12,201	65,357	7,950	20,420
23	South Carolina	79,872	622	8,577	67,499	9,306	19,968
24	Louisiana	78,760	1,461	7,139	65,844	3,055	19,690
25	Oklahoma	68,576	659	5,324	59,853	2,958	17,144
26	Connecticut	66,192	657	5,814	56,287	4,819	16,548
27	Iowa	61,510	964	5,427	52,215	752	15,378
28	Mississippi	61,197	71	4,660	53,508	1,626	15,299
29	Arizona	61,076	633	5,151	52,594	670	15,269
30	Colorado	60,357	761	4,683	52,299	1,110	15,089
31	Oregon	56,702	821	3,122	50,435	8,614	14,176
32	Utah	50,009	1,288	3,755	43,517	1,489	12,502
33	Arkansas	49,018	590	5,058	41,095	20,186	12,255
34	Kansas	47,063	638	4,314	40,252	4,804	11,766
35	West Virginia	44,338	791	3,581	37,465	618	11,085
36	New Mexico	38,207	47	2,605	34,066	11,396	9,552
37	Nebraska	35,975	584	2,772	30,993	2,740	8,994
38	Maine	27,891	0	2,497	24,137	2,324	6,973
39	Idaho	22,755	501	2,708	18,857	10,916	5,689
40	Rhode Island	21,588	462	1,801	18,198	1,127	5,397
41	New Hampshire	21,047	615	1,538	17,784	3,174	5,262
42	Nevada	20,530	546	1,818	17,496	621	5,133
43	Montana	18,038	273	1,798	15,215	5,386	4,510
44	Alaska	16,106	433	1,656	13,434	19,027	4,027
45	South Dakota	15,284	249	2,214	12,200	1,449	3,821
46	Delaware	14,435	46	1,631	12,026	489	3,609
47	Hawaii	14,163	647	930	12,184	5,507	3,541
48	North Dakota	12,679	214	1,163	10,684	3,819	3,170
49	Wyoming	11,935	392	1,334	9,711	2,501	2,984
50	Vermont	11,101	119	1,011	9,482	4,209	2,775
51	District of Columbia	7,104	159	429	5,922	498	1,776
	United States	**4,948,601**	**66,478**	**417,346**	**4,235,330**	**229,447**	**1,237,150**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.

Source: Department of Education, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Number of Participants and Estimated Number Who Would Lose Title I by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Participants	Estimated # of Children To Lose Service
1	California	1,383,287	414,986
2	Texas	584,603	175,381
3	New York	460,025	138,008
4	Pennsylvania	262,452	78,736
5	Florida	208,018	62,405
6	Ohio	187,643	56,293
7	Illinois	181,002	54,301
8	New Jersey	180,627	54,188
9	Michigan	176,510	52,953
10	Georgia	168,125	50,438
11	Mississippi	151,157	45,347
12	Alabama	135,845	40,754
13	Tennessee	128,076	38,423
14	North Carolina	119,472	35,842
15	Louisiana	115,221	34,566
16	Kentucky	112,231	33,669
17	Missouri	107,019	32,106
18	Arizona	101,519	30,456
19	Indiana	96,632	28,990
20	Massachusetts	94,272	28,282
21	Arkansas	87,557	26,267
22	Minnesota	81,954	24,586
23	Virginia	76,937	23,081
24	Wisconsin	69,585	20,876
25	Maryland	69,496	20,849
26	South Carolina	68,308	20,492
27	Washington	63,479	19,044
28	Oklahoma	59,930	17,979
29	New Mexico	53,964	16,189
30	Connecticut	53,923	16,177
31	Oregon	51,412	15,424
32	Colorado	40,404	12,121
33	Iowa	36,595	10,979
34	Utah	35,710	10,713
35	Kansas	35,054	10,516
36	West Virginia	34,497	10,349
37	Nebraska	32,335	9,701
38	Maine	28,685	8,606
39	Idaho	24,600	7,380
40	Montana	16,324	4,897
41	Rhode Island	15,173	4,552
42	South Dakota	14,957	4,487
43	Hawaii	14,932	4,480
44	District of Columbia	14,736	4,421
45	New Hampshire	13,764	4,129
46	Nevada	13,476	4,043
47	Vermont	12,217	3,665
48	North Dakota	11,893	3,568
49	Delaware	10,413	3,124
50	Alaska	7,796	2,339
51	Wyoming	5,503	1,651
	United States	**6,109,345**	**1,832,804**

*Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Source: Department of Education, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

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TITLE I PARTICIPANTS, 1992-1993 SCHOOL YEAR

Title I Migrant Education Participants, 1992-1993 School Year

Ranked by the Number of Participants and Estimated Number Who Would Lose Services by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Participants	Estimated # of Children To Lose Services
1	California	166,793	50,038
2	Texas	95,703	28,711
3	Florida	33,068	9,920
4	Michigan	19,167	5,750
5	Oregon	18,494	5,548
6	Arizona	14,244	4,273
7	Washington	12,938	3,881
8	Kentucky	12,447	3,734
9	Kansas	11,736	3,521
10	Alaska	11,227	3,368
11	Georgia	9,942	2,983
12	New York	8,970	2,691
13	Arkansas	8,385	2,516
14	Massachusetts	8,274	2,482
15	Idaho	6,996	2,099
16	Pennsylvania	6,899	2,070
17	Indiana	6,181	1,854
18	Ohio	5,923	1,777
19	Mississippi	5,595	1,679
20	Minnesota	5,332	1,600
21	Maine	5,064	1,519
22	North Carolina	5,041	1,512
23	Alabama	4,944	1,483
24	Colorado	4,142	1,243
25	Louisiana	3,991	1,197
26	Connecticut	3,663	1,099
27	New Mexico	3,417	1,025
28	Illinois	2,696	809
29	Nebraska	2,219	666
30	Utah	2,045	614
31	Missouri	1,911	573
32	New Jersey	1,662	499
33	Vermont	1,177	353
34	Oklahoma	1,166	350
35	North Dakota	1,152	346
36	Virginia	1,125	338
37	Wisconsin	1,085	326
38	Montana	724	217
39	South Carolina	686	206
40	Iowa	528	158
41	Nevada	526	158
42	Maryland	486	146
43	Delaware	424	127
44	Tennessee	396	119
45	Rhode Island	345	104
46	Wyoming	339	10
47	District of Columbia	337	101
48	South Dakota	198	59
49	New Hampshire	95	29
50	Hawaii	0	0
51	West Virginia	0	0
	United States	519,898	155,969

*Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.

Source: Department of Education, unpublished tables. Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Number of Children Enrolled in Head Start and the Estimated Number of Children Who Would Lose Head Start by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Participants	Estimated # of Children to Lose Head Start
1	California	70,895	21,269
2	Texas	51,401	15,420
3	New York	39,039	11,712
4	Ohio	33,919	10,176
5	Michigan	30,695	9,209
6	Illinois	30,537	9,161
7	Florida	27,461	8,238
8	Pennsylvania	25,531	7,659
9	Mississippi	24,114	7,234
10	Georgia	19,500	5,850
11	Louisiana	19,329	5,799
12	North Carolina	15,789	4,737
13	Alabama	14,513	4,354
14	Tennessee	14,512	4,354
15	Kentucky	14,180	4,254
16	Missouri	14,063	4,219
17	New Jersey	12,879	3,864
18	Wisconsin	11,934	3,580
19	Indiana	11,747	3,524
20	Oklahoma	11,078	3,323
21	Virginia	11,059	3,318
22	Massachusetts	10,851	3,255
23	South Carolina	10,194	3,058
24	Arizona	9,846	2,954
25	Arkansas	9,083	2,725
26	Minnesota	8,576	2,573
27	Maryland	8,576	2,573
28	Washington	8,264	2,479
29	Colorado	8,122	2,437
30	New Mexico	6,414	1,924
31	West Virginia	6,402	1,921
32	Iowa	5,946	1,784
33	Kansas	5,793	1,738
34	Connecticut	5,600	1,680
35	Oregon	4,594	1,378
36	Utah	4,028	1,208
37	Nebraska	3,644	1,093
38	Maine	3,439	1,032
39	District of Columbia	2,841	852
40	Rhode Island	2,434	730
41	Montana	2,324	697
42	Hawaii	2,260	678
43	South Dakota	2,025	608
44	Idaho	1,897	569
45	Nevada	1,793	538
46	North Dakota	1,738	521
47	Delaware	1,455	437
48	Wyoming	1,323	397
49	Vermont	1,271	381
50	Alaska	1,209	363
51	New Hampshire	1,156	347
	United States	647,273	194,182

*Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Calculations by CDF.

Head Start Enrollment

One-third of children enrolled in Head Start in FY 1993 were Black.

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Children Receiving SSI Payments

Ranked by the Total Number of Children Receiving SSI Payments and Estimated Number of Children Who Would Lose SSI Benefits by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Blind	Disabled	Total	Estimated # of Children To Lose SSI
1	New York	360	65,983	66,343	19,903
2	California	1,806	56,131	57,937	17,381
3	Texas	717	46,709	47,426	14,228
4	Florida	307	41,320	41,627	12,488
5	Illinois	281	40,939	41,220	12,366
6	Ohio	415	37,945	38,360	11,508
7	Louisiana	237	35,709	35,946	10,784
8	Pennsylvania	297	33,719	34,016	10,205
9	Michigan	254	30,803	31,057	9,317
10	Alabama	106	23,805	23,911	7,173
11	Georgia	259	22,335	22,594	6,778
12	North Carolina	274	22,050	22,324	6,697
13	Mississippi	87	22,070	22,157	6,647
14	Tennessee	203	18,739	18,942	5,683
15	Wisconsin	144	18,395	18,539	5,562
16	New Jersey	118	17,643	17,761	5,328
17	Kentucky	147	17,149	17,296	5,189
18	Missouri	136	16,782	16,918	5,075
19	Arkansas	140	16,586	16,726	5,018
20	Indiana	175	16,454	16,629	4,989
21	Virginia	194	15,934	16,128	4,838
22	South Carolina	204	13,799	14,003	4,201
23	Massachusetts	565	12,471	13,036	3,911
24	Oklahoma	164	9,545	9,709	2,913
25	Washington	124	9,509	9,633	2,890
26	Maryland	79	8,990	9,069	2,721
27	Arizona	123	8,879	9,002	2,701
28	Minnesota	165	8,017	8,182	2,455
29	Colorado	71	7,735	7,806	2,342
30	West Virginia	106	7,073	7,179	2,154
31	Iowa	165	6,601	6,766	2,030
32	Kansas	64	6,385	6,449	1,935
33	Oregon	103	5,602	5,705	1,712
34	New Mexico	56	5,332	5,388	1,616
35	Connecticut	91	4,174	4,265	1,280
36	Utah	86	3,600	3,686	1,106
37	Nebraska	40	3,348	3,388	1,016
38	Idaho	33	3,108	3,141	942
39	South Dakota	28	2,251	2,279	684
40	Maine	39	2,117	2,156	647
41	Rhode Island	26	2,075	2,101	630
42	Nevada	86	1,957	2,043	613
43	District of Columbia	15	2,006	2,021	606
44	Montana	21	1,812	1,833	550
45	Delaware	16	1,660	1,676	503
46	New Hampshire	9	1,301	1,310	393
47	Vermont	15	1,202	1,217	365
48	North Dakota	17	1,024	1,041	312
49	Wyoming	10	942	952	286
50	Hawaii	10	738	748	224
51	Alaska	18	662	680	204
	United States	**9,206**	**761,115**	**770,321**	**231,096**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.

Source: Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "SSI Recipients by State and County: Dec. 1993," July 1994. Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Estimated Number of Black Children Who Would Lose Medicaid Health Coverage by Balancing the Budget*, FY 1993

Rank	State	Number of Medicaid Recipients Under Six	% of Medicaid Recipients Who Are Black	Number of Black Children Under Six	Children of All Races Expected To Lose Coverage	Black Children Expected To Lose Coverage
1	District of Columbia	40,342	87.03%	35,110	12,103	10,533
2	Mississippi	156,029	64.31	100,347	46,809	30,104
3	Louisiana	220,553	61.41	135,438	66,166	40,631
4	South Carolina	149,948	59.58	89,340	44,984	26,802
5	Maryland	161,532	57.35	92,642	48,460	27,793
6	Georgia	288,383	55.56	160,240	86,515	48,072
7	Alabama	188,087	52.15	98,091	56,426	29,427
8	North Carolina	276,496	49.03	135,578	82,949	40,673
9	Delaware	22,421	48.68	10,914	6,726	3,274
10	Virginia	196,386	47.92	94,111	58,916	28,233
11	Illinois	468,224	43.68	204,517	140,467	61,355
12	New Jersey	204,127	37.06	75,646	61,238	22,694
13	Arkansas	95,363	36.12	34,446	28,609	10,334
14	Michigan	339,915	35.78	121,619	101,975	36,486
15	Florida	644,362	34.24	220,640	193,309	66,192
16	Tennessee	242,080	32.49	78,640	72,624	23,592
17	Missouri	193,149	30.57	59,044	57,945	17,713
18	Ohio	435,175	30.01	130,575	130,553	39,172
19	Pennsylvania	365,927	29.14	106,627	109,778	31,988
20	Connecticut	83,318	24.95	20,784	24,995	6,235
21	Indiana	183,019	23.29	42,632	54,906	12,790
22	Texas	927,899	22.38	207,668	278,370	62,300
23	Wisconsin	164,807	19.49	32,120	49,442	9,636
24	Oklahoma	119,200	19.41	23,133	35,760	6,940
25	Nevada	36,326	19.25	6,992	10,898	2,097
26	New York	765,001	19.13	146,357	229,500	43,907
27	Kansas	71,444	18.70	13,364	21,433	4,009
28	Nebraska	47,458	13.60	6,452	14,237	1,936
29	California	1,589,871	13.13	208,822	476,961	62,647
30	Kentucky	153,525	12.80	19,652	46,058	5,896
31	Massachusetts	178,533	12.69	22,651	53,560	6,795
32	Minnesota	142,019	12.58	17,859	42,606	5,358
33	Colorado	109,766	10.27	11,278	32,930	3,383
34	Iowa	75,406	7.55	5,693	22,622	1,708
35	Washington	184,775	7.07	13,066	55,433	3,920
36	Alaska	24,522	6.52	1,598	7,357	479
37	Arizona	224,357	6.34	14,219	67,307	4,266
38	Oregon	110,322	5.07	5,590	33,097	1,677
39	West Virginia	115,674	4.13	4,776	34,702	1,433
40	New Mexico	79,969	3.47	2,774	23,991	832
41	Wyoming	16,524	2.01	332	4,957	100
42	Utah	61,325	1.95	1,193	18,398	358
43	Hawaii	33,884	1.15	391	10,165	117
44	New Hampshire	21,539	1.01	218	6,462	65
45	North Dakota	25,879	0.83	214	7,764	64
46	Vermont	18,364	0.57	104	5,509	31
47	Idaho	24,522	0.42	102	7,357	31
48	South Dakota	25,469	0.14	35	7,641	11
49	Maine	36,760	0.00	0	11,028	0
50	Montana	25,879	0.00	0	7,764	0
51	Rhode Island	0	0	0	0	0
	United States	**13,295,398**	**26.88%**	**3,573,600**	**3,988,619**	**1,072,080**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.

Source: Health Care Financing Administration, Division of Medicaid Statistics, July 15, 1994. Calculations by CDF.

Federal Government Grants to States

Food Stamp Program

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$335,614	$100,684
2	Maryland	298,571	89,571
3	New York	119,750	35,925
4	Texas	119,038	35,711
5	Ohio	104,001	31,200
6	Pennsylvania	99,563	29,869
7	Washington	75,307	22,592
8	Alabama	64,068	19,220
9	Minnesota	61,454	18,436
10	Michigan	60,650	18,195
11	New Mexico	59,223	17,767
12	Florida	52,317	15,695
13	New Jersey	46,377	13,913
14	Illinois	45,962	13,789
15	Georgia	45,319	13,596
16	Virginia	38,094	11,428
17	North Carolina	32,063	9,619
18	Louisiana	31,429	9,429
19	Tennessee	27,631	8,289
20	Missouri	26,248	7,874
21	Kentucky	25,045	7,514
22	Wisconsin	25,036	7,511
23	Indiana	23,465	7,040
24	Oregon	23,127	6,938
25	Arizona	20,661	6,198
26	Massachusetts	19,862	5,959
27	Oklahoma	19,533	5,860
28	Mississippi	18,073	5,422
29	South Carolina	16,846	5,054
30	Arkansas	12,911	3,873
31	Connecticut	12,772	3,832
32	Utah	10,595	3,179
33	Colorado	8,486	2,546
34	Iowa	8,201	2,460
35	District of Columbia	8,066	2,420
36	Alaska	7,938	2,381
37	Kansas	7,681	2,304
38	Vermont	7,622	2,287
39	Hawaii	7,121	2,136
40	West Virginia	5,907	1,772
41	Nebraska	5,613	1,684
42	Maine	5,489	1,647
43	Rhode Island	5,273	1,582
44	Nevada	5,272	1,582
45	Montana	5,008	1,502
46	Idaho	4,222	1,267
47	South Dakota	3,925	1,178
48	Delaware	3,818	1,145
49	North Dakota	3,729	1,119
50	Wyoming	3,117	935
51	New Hampshire	2,753	826
	United States	**$3,106,088**	**$931,826**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Note: In thousand dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$1,495,208	$448,562
2	New York	1,208,410	362,523
3	Texas	991,013	297,304
4	Illinois	660,900	198,270
5	Pennsylvania	652,968	195,890
6	Florida	644,634	193,390
7	Ohio	539,026	161,708
8	Michigan	528,726	158,618
9	New Jersey	427,994	128,398
10	Georgia	379,352	113,806
11	North Carolina	375,141	112,542
12	Massachusetts	330,940	99,282
13	Virginia	318,917	95,675
14	Louisiana	303,962	91,189
15	Tennessee	296,550	88,965
16	Alabama	287,783	86,335
17	Indiana	268,385	80,516
18	Missouri	259,376	77,813
19	Kentucky	248,101	74,430
20	Wisconsin	244,337	73,301
21	Washington	238,590	71,577
22	Maryland	238,191	71,457
23	Mississippi	228,913	68,674
24	Arizona	228,412	68,524
25	South Carolina	225,760	67,728
26	Minnesota	206,497	61,949
27	Oklahoma	194,028	58,208
28	Arkansas	162,839	48,852
29	Connecticut	155,936	46,781
30	Colorado	147,418	44,225
31	Oregon	144,939	43,482
32	New Mexico	132,666	39,800
33	Iowa	131,465	39,440
34	Kansas	124,745	37,424
35	West Virginia	120,576	36,173
36	Alaska	97,373	29,212
37	Utah	96,295	28,889
38	Nebraska	85,056	25,517
39	Maine	79,847	23,954
40	Montana	69,514	20,854
41	Hawaii	63,323	18,997
42	South Dakota	63,249	18,975
43	Idaho	62,689	18,807
44	District of Columbia	61,785	18,536
45	Rhode Island	60,792	18,238
46	North Dakota	54,370	16,311
47	Nevada	51,945	15,584
48	New Hampshire	49,165	14,750
49	Delaware	48,062	14,419
50	Vermont	44,248	13,274
51	Wyoming	41,163	12,349
	United States	**$14,739,636**	**$4,421,891**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.

Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

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Compensatory Education for Disadvantaged Students

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	New York	$694,229	$208,269
2	California	660,564	198,169
3	Texas	434,528	130,358
4	Pennsylvania	316,359	94,908
5	Illinois	298,047	89,414
6	Florida	295,741	88,722
7	Michigan	256,350	76,905
8	Ohio	232,073	69,622
9	New Jersey	207,530	62,259
10	Georgia	186,294	55,888
11	North Carolina	160,225	48,068
12	Louisiana	154,216	46,265
13	Massachusetts	150,127	45,038
14	Alabama	137,406	41,222
15	Tennessee	133,727	40,118
16	Mississippi	124,109	37,233
17	Virginia	121,955	36,587
18	Kentucky	116,583	34,975
19	Missouri	106,138	31,841
20	Maryland	104,326	31,298
21	South Carolina	98,067	29,420
22	Indiana	97,809	29,343
23	Wisconsin	90,333	27,100
24	Washington	79,780	23,934
25	Arkansas	78,795	23,639
26	Minnesota	71,054	21,316
27	Arizona	70,365	21,110
28	Connecticut	68,332	20,500
29	Oklahoma	61,423	18,427
30	Oregon	58,833	17,650
31	West Virginia	54,553	16,366
32	Colorado	52,022	15,607
33	Iowa	48,201	14,460
34	New Mexico	46,682	14,005
35	Kansas	45,811	13,743
36	Maine	37,147	11,144
37	Nebraska	30,104	9,031
38	District of Columbia	29,729	8,919
39	Rhode Island	24,555	7,367
40	Utah	22,988	6,896
41	Idaho	22,514	6,754
42	Alaska	21,541	6,462
43	South Dakota	19,869	5,961
44	Delaware	18,418	5,525
45	Hawaii	17,930	5,379
46	Montana	17,695	5,309
47	Vermont	16,292	4,888
48	North Dakota	16,118	4,835
49	New Hampshire	15,826	4,748
50	Nevada	15,706	4,712
51	Wyoming	8,651	2,595
	United States	**$6,582,491**	**$1,974,747**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$45,631	$13,689
2	New York	18,301	5,490
3	Texas	5,417	1,625
4	Illinois	5,121	1,536
5	Florida	3,628	1,088
6	New Jersey	3,092	928
7	Massachusetts	2,160	648
8	Arizona	2,097	629
9	Washington	1,778	533
10	Maryland	1,739	522
11	Virginia	1,559	468
12	Utah	1,068	320
13	Rhode Island	1,040	312
14	District of Columbia	850	255
15	New Mexico	707	212
16	Oregon	683	205
17	Connecticut	646	194
18	Pennsylvania	558	167
19	Georgia	552	166
20	Michigan	474	142
21	Colorado	471	141
22	Louisiana	444	133
23	Hawaii	414	124
24	Minnesota	393	118
25	Kansas	288	86
26	Missouri	285	86
27	Ohio	259	78
28	Tennessee	225	68
29	Idaho	181	54
30	Wisconsin	168	50
31	Oklahoma	135	41
32	Iowa	103	31
33	North Dakota	42	13
34	Nebraska	38	11
35	Maine	33	10
36	Vermont	21	6
37	Montana	20	6
38	Delaware	.	.
39	Arkansas	.	.
40	Alabama	.	.
41	Alaska	.	.
42	Wyoming	.	.
43	West Virginia	.	.
44	Mississippi	.	.
45	Kentucky	.	.
46	Nevada	.	.
47	New Hampshire	.	.
48	South Carolina	.	.
49	South Dakota	.	.
50	North Carolina	.	.
51	Indiana	.	.
United States		**$101,207**	**$30,362**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$354,277	$106,283
2	New York	230,404	69,121
3	Michigan	177,355	53,207
4	Illinois	175,951	52,785
5	Ohio	172,985	51,896
6	Pennsylvania	165,890	49,767
7	Texas	153,153	45,946
8	Florida	114,957	34,487
9	New Jersey	96,625	28,988
10	Indiana	88,114	26,434
11	North Carolina	83,764	25,129
12	Alabama	74,802	22,441
13	Tennessee	71,298	21,389
14	Massachusetts	70,451	21,135
15	Washington	67,733	20,320
16	Wisconsin	64,196	19,259
17	Georgia	62,475	18,743
18	Kentucky	62,255	18,677
19	Louisiana	61,872	18,562
20	Missouri	61,807	18,542
21	Virginia	56,039	16,812
22	Arizona	53,108	15,932
23	Maryland	52,963	15,889
24	Minnesota	47,643	14,293
25	South Carolina	45,208	13,562
26	Oregon	43,395	13,019
27	Mississippi	40,501	12,150
28	Oklahoma	34,997	10,499
29	Arkansas	34,593	10,37
30	Connecticut	33,586	10,076
31	Iowa	32,677	9,803
32	Colorado	30,552	9,166
33	West Virginia	30,486	9,146
34	New Mexico	21,223	6,367
35	Kansas	20,938	6,281
36	District of Columbia	18,383	5,515
37	Utah	15,182	4,555
38	Maine	14,589	4,377
39	Idaho	14,342	4,303
40	Montana	14,134	4,240
41	Nebraska	13,580	4,074
42	Rhode Island	13,112	3,934
43	Hawaii	13,073	3,922
44	Alaska	12,919	3,876
45	Nevada	11,731	3,519
46	South Dakota	11,052	3,316
47	North Dakota	9,706	2,912
48	New Hampshire	8,284	2,485
49	Wyoming	7,992	2,398
50	Delaware	7,873	2,362
51	Vermont	7,566	2,270
	United States	**$3,291,071**	**$987,321**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$316,607	$94,982
2	New York	226,145	67,844
3	Texas	216,442	64,933
4	Pennsylvania	115,301	34,590
5	Illinois	113,796	34,139
6	Ohio	108,413	32,524
7	Florida	105,328	31,598
8	Georgia	90,884	27,265
9	Michigan	80,353	24,106
10	North Carolina	73,468	22,040
11	Louisiana	68,417	20,525
12	New Jersey	62,668	18,800
13	Indiana	61,843	18,553
14	Alabama	58,447	17,534
15	Tennessee	58,269	17,481
16	South Carolina	56,491	16,947
17	Virginia	55,167	16,550
18	Missouri	53,718	16,115
19	Kentucky	51,523	15,457
20	Arizona	50,311	15,093
21	Wisconsin	45,350	13,605
22	Massachusetts	42,907	12,872
23	Washington	41,642	12,493
24	Mississippi	40,765	12,230
25	Maryland	39,421	11,826
26	Oklahoma	38,479	11,544
27	Minnesota	38,326	11,498
28	Arkansas	36,045	10,814
29	Connecticut	33,960	10,188
30	Oregon	27,491	8,247
31	Colorado	27,274	8,182
32	Iowa	27,066	8,120
33	Kansas	24,832	7,450
34	Utah	24,151	7,245
35	West Virginia	23,829	7,149
36	New Mexico	23,237	6,971
37	Hawaii	15,463	4,639
38	Idaho	15,441	4,632
39	Nebraska	15,236	4,571
40	Maine	11,975	3,593
41	South Dakota	11,804	3,541
42	Rhode Island	10,653	3,196
43	Nevada	10,109	3,033
44	Montana	9,816	2,945
45	North Dakota	8,995	2,699
46	Alaska	8,981	2,694
47	Vermont	8,709	2,613
48	New Hampshire	8,535	2,561
49	Delaware	7,857	2,357
50	District of Columbia	6,776	2,033
51	Wyoming	6,040	1,812
	United States	**$2,838,720**	**$851,616**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)

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Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$813,854	$244,156
2	Texas	613,147	183,944
3	New York	378,856	113,657
4	Florida	339,370	101,811
5	Illinois	239,069	71,721
6	Ohio	204,571	61,371
7	Georgia	199,921	59,976
8	Pennsylvania	195,418	58,625
9	Louisiana	187,716	56 315
10	North Carolina	182,846	54,854
11	Michigan	160,895	48,269
12	Alabama	136,318	40,895
13	Mississippi	135,927	40,778
14	Tennessee	131,097	39,329
15	Minnesota	121,024	36,307
16	New Jersey	116,118	34,835
17	South Carolina	114,527	34,358
18	Kentucky	113,475	34,043
19	Missouri	113,152	33,946
20	Arizona	111,397	33,419
21	Washington	105,778	31,733
22	Massachusetts	104,554	31,366
23	Indiana	100,481	30,144
24	Virginia	97,078	29,123
25	Oklahoma	93,861	28,158
26	Maryland	85,639	25,692
27	Arkansas	85,544	25,663
28	Wisconsin	82,414	24,724
29	Kansas	79,861	23,958
30	New Mexico	72,175	21,653
31	Colorado	70,833	21,250
32	Oregon	62,659	18,798
33	Utah	61,535	18,461
34	Iowa	59,246	17,774
35	Connecticut	51,678	15,503
36	West Virginia	51,440	15,432
37	Nebraska	45,718	13,715
38	Maine	27,195	8,159
39	Idaho	25,328	7,598
40	Hawaii	24,722	7,417
41	South Dakota	23,927	7,178
42	North Dakota	22,160	6,648
43	Montana	21,896	6,569
44	Nevada	19,889	5,967
45	Delaware	18,835	5,651
46	Alaska	18,296	5,489
47	District of Columbia	18,022	5,407
48	Rhode Island	15,787	4,736
49	New Hampshire	13,300	3,990
50	Wyoming	11,762	3,529
51	Vermont	11,498	3,449
	United States	**$6,340,005**	**$1,902,002**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent.
Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by the Dollar Amount Received and Estimated Amount that Would Be Lost by Balancing the Budget,* FY 1993

Rank	State	Dollar Amount	Estimated Loss*
1	California	$371,132	$111,340
2	New York	215,625	64,688
3	Texas	213,326	63,998
4	Illinois	139,094	41,728
5	Ohio	133,868	40,160
6	Michigan	126,644	37,993
7	Pennsylvania	119,319	35,796
8	Florida	118,940	35,682
9	Mississippi	91,978	27,594
10	Georgia	81,948	24,584
11	Louisiana	75,850	22,755
12	New Jersey	71,171	21,351
13	North Carolina	66,621	19,986
14	Tennessee	58,590	17,577
15	Massachusetts	57,249	17,175
16	Missouri	55,960	16,788
17	Kentucky	54,345	16,304
18	Alabama	54,262	16,279
19	Wisconsin	49,445	14,833
20	Indiana	46,543	13,963
21	Virginia	46,396	13,919
22	Washington	45,958	13,787
23	Arizona	44,403	13,321
24	South Carolina	40,759	12,228
25	Oklahoma	39,058	11,718
26	Maryland	38,798	11,639
27	Minnesota	36,919	11,076
28	Colorado	31,777	9,533
29	Arkansas	30,707	9,212
30	Oregon	27,074	8,122
31	Connecticut	26,053	7,816
32	West Virginia	26,005	7,802
33	New Mexico	24,232	7,270
34	Iowa	23,421	7,026
35	Kansas	22,087	6,626
36	Utah	15,826	4,748
37	Nebraska	14,337	4,301
38	District of Columbia	12,850	3,855
39	Maine	12,606	3,782
40	Rhode Island	10,057	3,017
41	Hawaii	9,936	2,981
42	Idaho	9,572	2,872
43	Montana	9,560	2,868
44	Nevada	8,015	2,404
45	South Dakota	7,982	2,395
46	North Dakota	6,721	2,016
47	Alaska	6,294	1,888
48	Vermont	5,957	1,787
49	Delaware	5,813	1,744
50	New Hampshire	5,698	1,710
51	Wyoming	4,924	1,477
	United States	**$2,851,703**	**$855,511**

* Balancing the budget by FY 2002 without cutting Social Security and defense spending or raising taxes would require all other federal expenditures to be reduced by an estimated 30 percent. Note: In thousands of dollars. Detail may not add to total because of rounding. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, "Federal Expenditures by State, 1993." Calculations by CDF.

Cities with the Most Poor Black Children

Ranked by Number of Black Poor Children, 1989

Rank	City	State	Black	White	White Rank
1	New York	NY	198,550	132,345	1
2	Chicago	IL	157,204	37,378	5
3	Detroit	MI	116,398	15,488	9
4	Philadelphia	PA	70,520	21,597	8
5	New Orleans	LA	57,247	2,590	120
6	Houston	TX	56,403	31,698	6
7	Memphis	TN	51,069	4,142	84
8	Los Angeles	CA	47,608	69,547	2
9	Baltimore	MD	47,233	8,248	34
10	Milwaukee	WI	43,693	11,525	18
11	Cleveland	OH	38,593	15,223	10
12	Atlanta	GA	37,468	1,290	165
13	Dallas	TX	35,842	13,419	15
14	St. Louis	MO	31,281	6,194	51
15	Washington	DC	25,747	699	191
16	Cincinnati	OH	24,286	8,610	32
17	Birmingham	AL	21,963	1,585	157
18	Jacksonville	FL	19,848	9,144	29
19	Columbus	OH	19,322	14,368	115
20	Indianapolis	IN	19,278	14,267	13
21	Miami	FL	18,958	13,519	14
22	Shreveport	LA	18,424	1,808	148
23	Newark	NJ	17,927	4,773	71
24	Baton Rouge	LA	16,980	1,742	152
25	Oakland	CA	16,898	1,881	145

Source: 1990 Census of Population, Sample Data. Cities with population of 100,000 or more. Calculations by CDF.

Cities with the Highest Percentage of Black Children Who Are Poor

Ranked by Percent of Black Poor Children, 1989

Rank	City	State	Percent
1	Erie	PA	61.7%
2	Miami	FL	58.2
3	Milwaukee	WI	57.3
4	Shreveport	LA	56.8
5	Pittsburgh	PA	56.7
6	Peoria	IL	55.9
7	Louisville	KY	55.8
8	New Orleans	LA	55.2
9	Dayton	OH	55.1
10	Mobile	AL	54.5
11	Waco	TX	54.3
12	Baton Rouge	LA	54.2
13	St. Paul	MN	54.0
14	Cincinnati	OH	53.8
15	Cleveland	OH	53.8
16	Minneapolis	MN	53.6
16	Tampa	FL	53.6
18	Buffalo	NY	53.1
19	St. Louis	MO	52.6
20	Amarillo	TX	52.4
21	Toledo	OH	51.7
22	Springfield	IL	51.4
23	Metairie	LA	51.3
24	Salt Lake City	UT	51.1
25	Flint	MI	51.0

Source: 1990 Census of Population, Sample Data. Cities with population of 100,000 or more. Calculations by CDF.

Ranked by Number of Black Youths, 18-24, Not High School Graduates and Not in School, 1990

Rank	City	State	Number
1	New York	NY	56,298
2	Chicago	IL	30,025
3	Detroit	MI	23,975
4	Philadelphia	PA	18,099
5	Baltimore	MA	14,230
6	Houston	TX	11,329
7	Los Angeles	CA	11,302
8	Washington	DC	10,485
9	Memphis	TN	8,440
10	New Orleans	LA	8,111
11	Dallas	TX	7,331
12	Cleveland	OH	6,837
13	Milwaukee	WI	6,594
14	Atlanta	GA	6,413
15	Newark	NJ	6,117
16	St. Louis	MO	5,719
17	Indianapolis	IN	4,218
18	Jacksonville	FL	3,681
19	Boston	MA	3,671
20	Cincinnati	OH	3,613
21	Oakland	CA	3,433
22	Richmond	VA	3,372
23	Columbus	OH	3,354
24	Birmingham	AL	3,159
25	Nashville-Davidson	TN	2,938

Source: 1990 Census of Population, Sample Data. Cities with population of 100,000 or more. Calculations by CDF

Cities with the Most 18-24 Year Old Black Dropouts

Ranked by Percent of Black Youths, 18-24, Not High School Graduates and Not in School, 1990

Rank	City	State	Number	Percent
1	Escondido	CA	125	69.4
2	East Los Angeles	CA	150	50.7
3	Miami	FL	2,827	50.1
4	Amarillo	TX	354	49.1
5	Fort Lauderdale	FL	1,367	49.0
6	Metairie	LA	270	48.4
7	St. Petersburg	FL	1,502	47.0
8	Providence	RI	686	46.5
9	Pasadena	CA	700	44.7
10	Hialeah	FL	146	44.0
11	Cleveland	OH	6,837	43.4
12	Hollywood	FL	300	43.1
13	Milwaukee	WI	6,594	42.8
14	Richmond	VA	3,372	42.6
15	Rockford	IL	677	42.0
15	St. Louis	MO	5,719	42.0
17	San Bernardino	CA	830	41.8
18	Paterson	NJ	2,092	41.6
19	Newark	NJ	6,117	41.5
20	Baltimore	MD	14,230	41.3
20	Jersey City	NJ	2,741	41.3
22	Detroit	MI	23,975	40.9
23	Minneapolis	MN	1,449	40.4
23	Elizabeth	NJ	830	40.4
23	New York	NY	56,298	40.4

Source: 1990 Census of Population, Sample Data. Cities with population of 100,000 or more. Calculations by CDF

Cities with the Highest Percentage of 18-24 Year Old Black Dropouts

Seven of the 10 cities with the highest percentage of 18- to 24-year-old Black high school dropouts were in California and Florida

Cities with the Highest Percentage of 18-24 Year Old Black Youths Not Working or in School

Ranked by Percent of Black Youths, 18-24, Not Working and Not in School, 1990

Rank	City	State	18-24	Jobless	Percent
1	East Los Angeles	CA	296	283	95.6%
2	Fresno	CA	1,983	1,288	65.0
3	Santa Rosa	CA	175	112	64.0
4	Flint	MI	4,450	2,791	62.7
4	San Bernardino	CA	1,984	1,244	62.7
4	Metairie	LA	558	350	62.7
7	Miami	FL	5,642	3,507	62.2
8	Pittsburgh	PA	6,601	4,100	62.1
9	Salem	OR	108	67	62.0
10	Bakersfield	CA	1,339	825	61.6
11	Cleveland	OH	15,736	9,610	61.1
12	Yonkers	NY	1,592	967	60.7
13	Dayton	OH	4,946	2,984	60.3
14	Toledo	OH	4,937	2,972	60.2
15	Detroit	MI	58,647	34,906	59.5
16	Knoxville	TN	1,748	1,037	59.3
17	Grand Rapids	MI	2,660	1,563	58.8
18	Amarillo	TX	721	423	58.7
19	Modesto	CA	205	120	58.5
20	Minneapolis	MI	3,586	2,095	58.4
21	Lincoln	NB	415	242	58.3
22	Shreveport	LA	5,995	3,488	58.2
22	Chicago	IL	78,045	45,388	58.2
24	New Orleans	LA	21,043	12,167	57.8
25	Stockton	CA	1,354	775	57.2

Source: 1990 Census of Population, Sample Data. Cities with population of 100,000 or more. Calculations by CDF.

Annual averages, in 1993 Dollars, 16-24 Years Old

Year	Males		Females	
	Black	White	Black	White
1976	$358	$397	$340	$313
1977	334	397	341	315
1978	353	405	340	310
1979	325	387	280	301
1980	297	363	271	288
1981	297	342	264	281
1982	280	336	260	283
1983	272	323	258	283
1984	272	325	248	282
1985	265	326	261	282
1986	276	327	258	288
1987	270	332	261	289
1988	272	323	265	288
1989	264	320	260	287
1990	274	316	258	283
1991	268	307	261	284
1992	260	297	248	278
1993	255	294	259	276

Note: Data before 1979 are not strictly comparable, since they are based on the May annual earnings survey, rather than averages of monthly medians, and race is non-White, rather than Black.
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data, calculations by CDF.

Annual averages, in 1993 Dollars, 25 Years and Older

Year	Males		Females	
	Black	White	Black	White
1976	$502	$638	$358	$385
1977	499	653	362	387
1978	498	656	355	383
1979	476	624	344	383
1980	453	597	333	369
1981	443	591	333	365
1982	434	590	331	378
1983	446	591	347	386
1984	448	597	347	395
1985	432	610	352	399
1986	450	624	362	410
1987	453	616	366	412
1988	459	604	366	413
1989	438	593	363	414
1990	425	583	352	416
1991	418	581	358	418
1992	412	579	361	420
1993	413	581	363	424

Note: Data before 1979 are not strictly comparable, since they are based on the May annual earnings survey, rather than averages of monthly medians, and race is non-White, rather than Black.
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data, calculations by CDF.

Median Usual Weekly Earnings of Full-Time Wage and Salary Workers, Real Earnings

The median usual weekly earnings of Black males 16-24 was lower than any other group in 1993.

Black males over 25 years old are earning nearly $90 a week less in 1993 dollars than they did 19 years ago.

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A Black Community Manifeso for Children

Appendix

by John Hope Franklin, BCCC Honorary Co-Chair, 1990

"Twenty-two African Americans met December 10-15, 1990, to consider problems regarding the Black family and especially the Black child. After due deliberation, we concluded that the Black family and the Black child are in a crisis and that we intend to do something about it.

- Each day 1,169 Black children are born out of wedlock.
- Every three minutes a Black infant is born to a teenage mother.
- Each day 201 Black children are born to women who have had late or no prenatal care.
- Every 46 minutes a Black infant dies in the first year of life.
- If the infant is a boy, he has one chance in four that he will drop out of school before high school graduation.
- If the infant is a girl, she has a greater chance than one in four of being unemployed as a teenager.

"These are just a fraction of the indicators that tell us just how critical the present status and future outlook of the Black family and child really are. These indicators must be modified in a very positive way if Black children are to have an equal chance to inherit the bountiful natural and human resources that this country has to offer. Our desires and hopes for our children are reasonable to the point of modesty, but we wish no less and no more for them than we wish for every child in every land.

"We want them to grow up with healthy bodies and healthy minds, in a drug-free society, with ample tools for engaging in critical thinking and making sound judgments.

"We want them to have every opportunity to achieve success in school and to understand fully the world of work, what is involved in acquiring marketable skills, and how important it is to make a significant contribution to that world. This involves knowing how the community, state, and workday world operate and what their place is in it.

"We want our children to learn that the greatest success lies not so much in amassing a fortune as in having a concern for others and in recovering and preserving the tradition of selfless service to family and community.

"We want them to appreciate fully the artistic, moral, and spiritual values

that will bring to them much of their heritage of the past and make it possible to pass them on to their successors.

"We want them to have an understanding and appreciation for family, for their own rich heritage derived from African forebears as well as their American experience, the kind of understanding that will simultaneously provide them with roots and wings.

"In the nation's recent past, its families and its schools have experienced deep crises. Family instability has increased markedly, while many schools have deteriorated dramatically, both in their role as educational institutions and as transmitters of our culture and civilization. The nation's Black families have been faced with a deeper crisis in the lack of educational opportunities available to them, exacerbated by the fact that their plight is as old as the nation itself. Slave children were regularly separated from their parents through sale; and the family stability was purchased by desperate measures such as running away or resisting sale. Meanwhile, until emancipation in 1863, education was systematically withheld from them, and in many states it was unlawful to teach them to read and write.

"This legacy of family degradation and educational deficiency, reinforced by disenfranchisement, job discrimination, and finely spun theories of scientific racism became a normal part of the American landscape far down into the twentieth century. The grimness of the picture was relieved only by self-help on the one hand and philanthropic assistance on the other. Neither was adequate to move Blacks to a position where they even approached equality of opportunity in education, in the work place, or in the administration of justice.

"In recent years the crisis had deepened to the point where the very survival of the Black family and its progeny is at stake. The mere effort to survive is so exhausting, as well as demeaning in an affluent society, that constructive contributions to the well-being of the nation remain essentially minimal. The resultant waste of valuable human resources is reminiscent of the waste of natural resources, too long a familiar characteristic of our country. We cannot stand by idly and observe this waste, whether the consequence of profligacy, of lack of respect for human dignity, or of deliberate design.

"Consequently, we pledge ourselves to do everything humanly possible to strengthen the Black family, save Black children through succor as well as love, and to improve and modernize our schools in order to enhance significantly their chances for educational and life success. In this gigantic task we shall utilize to the fullest the resources of parents, children, and the general public.

"There are, of course, a variety of ways to meet these and other worthy goals, and we have had the exciting opportunity to hear some of them described and discussed.

"We have learned about rigorous assistance programs that provide out-of-school opportunities to improve language skills and interpersonal relationships, to learn the critical nature of modern entrepreneurship and technology, and to involve parents and other adults in the learning process.

"We have learned that to a remarkable degree replicable models are being developed in which family ties are strengthened, programs for medical services and child care are expanded, and indigenous staff have been trained to perform effectively at a level approaching professionalism.

"We have learned how in some communities Black people have organized a vast array of self-help groups, extending across many states, through which they impart techniques and approaches that, at little or no cost, have trained a large cadre of leaders able to work with children, organize church groups, and create new organizations dedicated to the improvement of the Black family and Black children.

"We have learned to appreciate the enormous success that professionally trained staffs can achieve when children, parents, and school officials are brought together with clearly articulated goals for improving our children's learning experience.

"We have learned the importance of school reform itself — sometimes mild, sometimes drastic — but at all times with the clear objective of providing the kind of healthy environment to accommodate the needs of the children.

"We are convinced by these and other experiences that our schools and our families can do much to improve the chances of success for our children. Some have been tested over time and have been found to be successful. Others bear the mark of recent innovations but also bear the mark of mature and responsible thinking that augurs well for their success.

"We have reminded ourselves that government at every level has had an active role not only in programs of racial degradation and discrimination but also in preventing equitable distribution of the natural gifts of this country. It is not possible, even with the self-help of persons and organizations, for the government to default on its responsibility to provide a healthy economic order that will not permit a small minority to enjoy the rich resources of the country, while the majority — made up of Blacks and many other Americans — has no resources commensurate with its size. Government had and must continue to have an important role in solving the deep economic problems that we face.

"We have not completely explored or fully utilized our own talents, or the resources of the many organizations with which we are affiliated. We shall, however, pursue this task relentlessly, knowing full well that some much-needed talents and resources are readily at hand.

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"We claim no monopoly of positive and rewarding thoughtfulness about plans and programs for the future of Black families and Black children. We only claim a sincere and deep appreciation of the fact that the crisis is very real and demands the immediate attention of all sincerely interested persons and organizations.

"The crisis of Black families and Black children requires all responsible civic, religious, professional, community, and national groups to join in a nationwide effort to save the Black family, to save the Black child, and to save for our country a rich resource that has already done so much to make the country what it is today and that can do so much to serve it in the future."

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Resources

1993-1995 Black Community Crusade for Children
National Publications

Progress and Peril: Black Children in America
Prophetic Voices: Black Preachers Speak on Behalf of Children
Prayers for Black Children
Beat the Odds Manual (How to Celebrate Children in Your Community Who Are Beating the Odds)
Advocate's Guide to the Summer Food Service Program
Cease Fire! In the War Against Children: Key Myths and Facts on Violence and Children
A Monograph: Federal Funding for Community Anti-Violence Programs
Special Report: Violence and Children (*CDF Reports*)
Black Students Leadership Network Organizing Manual
How to Plan and Run a Freedom School in Your Community
A Freedom School Curriculum Guide
Children's Sabbath Materials for African American Congregations
Report on Black Males: An Action Agenda (Summary of a Two-Year Seminar) (1995)
The Status of Black Children in American: Annual Report with BCCC Policy and Community Agendas
Collection of Great Black Speeches for Community Oratorical Contests (1995)
Adolescent and Young Adult Fact Book (teen pregnancy prevention emphasis) (1995)

BCCC Regional Office Publications

Report on Black Children in California (Urban Strategies Council, 1993 and 1994)
Clearinghouse Report on Effective Mentoring Programs (Urban Strategies Council, 1995)
The Challenge: Preventing Youth Violence — A Report From the Black Community Crusade for Children (Urban Strategies Council)
Black Children in Ohio (BCCC Midwest)

Ongoing BCCC Information Assistance

Necessary (newsletter)	Quarterly
WeSpeak! (Black Student Leadership Network newsletter)	Quarterly
Child Watch Column (in over 100 Black newspapers)	Weekly
Religious Action Columns	Quarterly

PSAs and video (for house and community meetings)
Anti-violence posters, booklets, products, radio, and television ads

1-800-ASK-BCCC (toll-free number)

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Localizing the Cease Fire! Media Campaign

Cease Fire! can be a tool for community leaders to use in local efforts to prevent violence by and against children.

The Children's Defense Fund and the Black Community Crusade for Children launched a new public education campaign in October 1994 to educate parents and all adults about the special risk that guns pose to children. Campaign materials include five posters, two of which can be adapted for use in bus shelters, and a 30-second public service announcement (PSA) for television.

Members of the CDF–BCCC anti-violence campaign are urging community leaders to use the posters and other Cease Fire! materials to educate local communities about gun violence. Community leaders are encouraged to call or visit local TV stations and ask public service directors to air the anti-violence PSA.

To order a copy of the TV PSA, print ad slicks, or to learn more about sponsoring a local Cease Fire! campaign in your community, call 202-662-3619. Full-size copies of campaign posters may be purchased ($5.95 plus $2 shipping each) from CDF Publications, 25 E Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20001, 202-662-3652.

By your child's first year, she can squeeze your finger with seven pounds of pressure. Approximately the same amount needed to squeeze the trigger of a gun.

Every year, hundreds of children accidentally shoot themselves or someone else. So if you get a gun to protect your child, what's going to protect your child from the gun?

Children killed by guns in American 1993-1994.

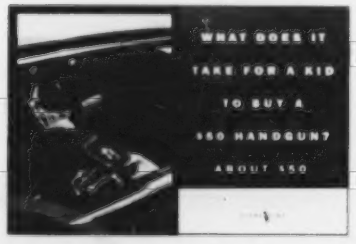
The scariest thing is, these aren't nearly all the names. In fact, well over 50,000 children have been killed by guns since 1979. So if you have a child, and you have a gun, better lose the gun. Before you lose the child.

This is how many safety regulations our government imposes on the product that kills over 5,000 American children a year.

There's not a single federal standard governing the safety of one of the most dangerous products made. It's time for our laws to start protecting children, instead of protecting guns.

A gun in the home can mean the difference between an argument and a funeral.

If you keep a gun in your home, it's 18 times more likely to kill someone living in your home than to kill an intruder. And that's statistic you can't argue with.



What does it take for a kid to buy a $50 handgun? About $50.

And the underground market. And weak gun restrictions. And slack enforcement. And greedy gun dealers. And, of course, a lack of support for gun control.

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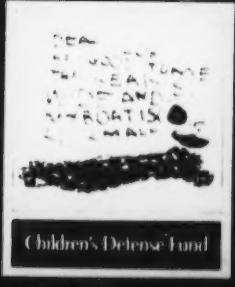
One Day in the Life of Black Children in America

3,494	Black public school students are suspended from school each school day.
1,451	Black children are arrested.
1,334	Black teens become sexually active.
1,257	Black babies are born to unmarried mothers.
1,159	Black public school students are corporally punished each school day.
1,118	Black teenagers are victims of violent crime.
1,022	Black high school graduates decide not to go to college.
1,019	Black infants are born into poverty.
964	Black teenagers are victims of non-violent crimes.
907	Black teenagers get pregnant.
420	Black teenagers give birth.
375	Black teenagers have abortions.
367	Black teenagers drop out of school each school day.
245	Black babies are born at low birthweight (under 5.5 lbs).
175	Black babies are born to women who had late or no prenatal care.
151	Black children are arrested for crimes of violence.
94	Black children are arrested for drug offenses.
55	Black babies are born at very low birthweight (under 3.25 lbs).
33	Black babies die before their first birthday.
20	Black children are arrested for drinking or drunken driving.
6	Black children die from guns.
6	Black young adults 20 to 24 are murdered.
1	Black young adult under 25 dies from HIV infection.
1	Black teenager commits suicide.



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